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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

THE POPES

TO

THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V

68286
ab

BY HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

VOLUME I.

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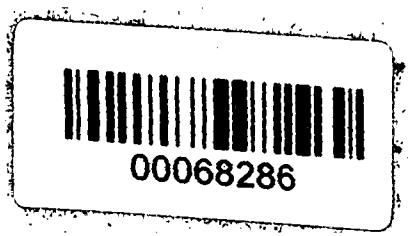

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PREFACE.

THE History of Latin Christianity is a continuation of "The History of Christianity to the Extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire." But Latin Christianity appears to possess such a remarkable historic unity, that I have thought fit, in order to make this work complete in itself, to trace again its origin and earlier development, and to enter in some respects with greater fulness, yet without unnecessary repetition, into its history during the first four centuries. On one extremely dark part of that history a book but recently discovered has thrown unexpected light.

The sentence of Polybius which describes the unity, and the plan of his History of Republican Rome, might be adopted by the historian of the Rise and Progress of Christian Rome. *Ὄντος γὰρ ἑνὸς ἔργου καὶ θεάματος ἑνὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος, ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφειν ἐπεκεχειρήκαμεν· τοῦ, πῶς καὶ πότε, καὶ διὰ τί πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν ἐγένετο.*—l. iii. c. i. "The work which we have undertaken being one, the whole forming one great design, how, when, and by what means all the known world became subject to the Roman rule." Though the great sphere of Latin Christianity was Western Europe, yet, during the first seven or eight centuries, it is so mingled up with the

religious history of the Greek empire; the invasion of Western Europe by the Mohammedans, and the Crusades, so involved it again in the affairs of the East; that in its influence at least it extended to the limits of the known world.

My aim has been to write a history, not a succession of dissertations on history; to give with as much life and reality as I have been able, the result, not the process, of inquiry. This, where almost every event, every character, every opinion has been the subject of long, intricate, too often hostile controversy, was a task of no slight difficulty. Where the conflicting authorities have seemed to be nearly balanced, I have sometimes, but rarely, admitted them into the text, not desiring to speak with certainty, where certainty appeared unattainable; in general I have reserved such discussions, when inevitable, for the notes. Even in the notes I have endeavoured to avoid two things—a polemic tone and prolixity. I.—I have cited the names of modern writers, in general, only when their observations have been remarkable in themselves, as original, or as characteristic of the progress of opinion. II.—I have usually contented myself with quoting the authority which after due consideration I have thought it right to follow, instead of occupying a large space with concurrent or conflicting statements. Nothing can be more easy, now that we possess such admirable manuals of ecclesiastical history (especially the invaluable one of Gieseler), to heap together to immeasurable extent citations from ancient authors or the opinions of learned men. I notice this solely that I may not be suspected either of the presumption of having neglected the

labours, or of want of gratitude for the aid, of that array of writers who—from the Magdeburg Centuriators, Baronius and his Continuators, through the great French scholars, Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin; the Germans, Mosheim, Schroeck, Neander, and countless others (where, alas! are the English historians of those times?)—have wrought with such indefatigable industry on the annals of Christianity. I have studied compression and condensation, rather than fulness and copiousness, simply in order to bring the work within reasonable compass.

The continuation of the History to the close of the Pontificate of Nicolas V. is far advanced, and indeed is nearly complete, so far as a work on a subject so inexhaustible can pretend to completeness.

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CORRIGENDA—VOL. I.

P. 65, line 9, *for* Constantine *read* Constantius.
P. 87, line 21, *for* geater *read* greater.
P. 339, line 4 from bottom, *dele* rather.
P. 344, dates, *for* 545 *read* 554, *for* 546 *read* 556.

HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

INTRODUCTION.

DESIGN AND PLAN OF THE WORK.

THE great event in the history of our religion and of mankind, during many centuries after the extinction of Paganism, is the rise, the development, and the domination of Latin Christianity. Though the religion of Christ had its origin among a Syrian people—though its Divine Author spoke an Aramaic dialect—Christianity was almost from the first a Greek religion. Its primal records were all, or nearly all, written in the Greek language; it was promulgated with the greatest rapidity and success among nations either of Greek descent, or those which had been Grecised by the conquests of Alexander; its most flourishing churches were in Greek cities. Greek was the commercial language in which the Jews, through whom it was at first disseminated, and who were even now settled in almost every province of the Roman world, carried on their intercourse. Primitive Christianity no doubt continued to speak in Syriac to vast numbers of disciples in those provinces; it spread eastward to a considerable extent, in Babylonia and beyond the Euphrates, into regions where Greek ceased to be the common tongue. Oriental influences, influences even from the remoter East, worked into its doctrine and into its system; yet even these flowed in chiefly or in great

Latin Christianity.

Christianity in its origin Greek.

part through Greek channels. The Indian Monasticism[a] had already been domiciliated in Palestine and among the Egyptian Jews. Oriental and Egyptian notions had found their way into the Greek philosophy. Among the earlier Christian converts were some of these partially orientalised Greek philosophers. Many of the first teachers had been trained in their schools. In Antioch, in Alexandria, even in Ephesus there was something of an Asiatic cast in the Greek civilisation.

Character of Greek Christianity.

Greek Christianity could not but be affected both in its doctrinal progress and in its polity by its Greek origin. Among the Greeks had been for centuries agitated all those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions;—the formation of the worlds—the existence and nature of the Deity—the origin and cause of evil, though this seems to have been studied even with stronger predilection in the trans-Euphratic East. Hence Greek Christianity was insatiably inquisitive, speculative. Confident in the inexhaustible copiousness and fine precision of its language, it endured no limitation to its curious investigations. As each great question was settled or worn out, it was still ready to propose new ones. It began with the Divinity of Christ (still earlier perhaps with some of the Gnostic Cosmogonical, or Theophanic theories), so onward to the Trinity: it expired, or at least drew near its end, as the religion of the Roman East, discussing the Divine Light on Mount Tabor.

In their polity the Grecian churches were a federation of republics, as were the settlements of the Jews. But they were founded on a religious, not on a national basis; external to, yet in their boundaries, mostly in their aggregative system, following the old commonwealths, which still continued to subsist under the supremacy of the Roman

[a] Compare, on Buddhist monasticism, the very curious visitation of the Buddhist monasteries at the close of the fourth century, the continuation of earlier visitations anterior to the Christian æra, the Foe Koueki, translated by M. A. Rémusat, Paris, 1836; also the recent more popular work by Mr. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, London, 1850.

Prefect or Proconsul, and in later times the distribution of the Imperial dioceses. They were held together by common sympathies, common creeds, common sacred books, certain, as yet simple, but common rites, common usages of life, and an hierarchy everywhere, in theory at least, of the same power and influence. They admitted the Christians of other places by some established sign, or by recommendatory letters. They were often bound together by mutual charitable subventions. Still each was an absolutely independent community. The Roman East, including Greece, had no capital. The old kingdoms might respect the traditionary greatness of some city, which had been the abode of their kings, or which was the seat of a central provincial government: other cities, from their wealth and population, may have assumed a superior rank, Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor. But though churches known or reputed to have been founded by Apostles might be looked on with peculiar respect, there was as yet no subordination, no supremacy; their federal union was a voluntary association. Whether the internal constitution had become more or less rapidly or completely monarchical; whether the Bishop had risen to a greater or less height above his co-Presbyters, the whole episcopal order, the representatives of each church, were on the same level. The Metropolitan and afterwards the Patriarchal dignity was of later growth. Jerusalem, which might naturally have aspired to the rank of the Christian capital, at least of the East, had been destroyed, and remained desolate for many years: it assumed only at a later period (at one time it was subject to Cæsarea) even the Patriarchal rank.

But at the extinction of Paganism, Greek, or as it may now be called in opposition to the West, Eastern Christianity, had almost ceased to be aggressive or creative. Except the contested conversion of the Bulgarians, later of the Russians, and a few wild

Not aggressive.

tribes, it achieved no conquests. The Nestorians alone, driven into exile by cruel persecutions, formed settlements, and propagated their own form of Christianity in Persia, India, perhaps in still more distant lands. The Eastern Church never recovered the ground which it had lost before the revived Magianism of the Sassanian kings of Persia; and it was compelled to retire within still narrowing bounds before triumphant Mohammedanism. The Greek hierarchy had now lost their unity of action. The great Patriarchates, which by this time had been formed on the authority of Councils, were involved in perpetual strife, or were contested by rival bishops, till three of them, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, sank into administrators of a tolerated religion under the Mohammedan dominion. The Bishop of Constantinople was the passive victim, the humble slave, or the factious adversary of the Byzantine Emperor: rarely exercised a lofty moral control upon his despotism. The lower clergy, whatever their more secret beneficent or sanctifying workings on society, had sufficient power, wealth, rank, to tempt ambition, or to degrade to intrigue; not enough to command the public mind for any great salutary purpose, to repress the inveterate immorality of an effete age; to reconcile jarring interests, to mould together hostile races: in general they ruled, where they did rule, by the superstitious fears, rather than by the reverence and attachment of a grateful people. They sank downward into the common ignorance, and yielded to that worst barbarism —a worn out civilisation. Monasticism withdrew a great number of those who might have been energetic and useful citizens into barren seclusion, and religious indolence; but except where the monks formed themselves, as they frequently did, into fierce political or polemic factions, they had little effect on the condition of society. They stood aloof from the world, the anchorites in their desert wildernesses, the monks, in their jealously-

Greek Monasticism.

barred convents; and secure, as they supposed, of their own salvation, left the rest of mankind to inevitable perdition.

Greek theology still maintained its speculative tendency; it went on defining with still more exquisite subtlety the Godhead and the nature of Christ; the interminable controversy still lengthened out, and cast forth sect after sect from the enfeebled community. The great Greek writers, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, had passed away, and left only unworthy successors; the splendid public eloquence had expired on the lips of Chrysostom. There was no writer who laid strong hold on the imagination or reason of men, except the author of that extraordinary book, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, of which perhaps the remote influence was greater in the West than in the Byzantine empire. John of Damascus, the powerful adversary of Iconoclasm, is a splendid exception, not merely on account of the polemic vigour shown in that controversy, but as a theologian doubtless the ablest of his late age. The Greek language gradually, but slowly, degenerated; at length, but not entirely till after the fall of Constantinople, it broke up into barbarous dialects; but it gave birth by fusion with foreign tongues to no new language productive of noble poetry, of oratory, or philosophy. A rude and premature reformation, that of Iconoclasm, attempted to overthrow the established traditionary faith, but offered nothing to supply its place, which could either enlighten the mind or enthral the religious affections: it destroyed the images, but it did not reveal the Original Deity, or the Christ in his pure and essential spirituality. Greek Christianity remained however, and still remains, a separate and peculiar form of faith; it repudiated all the attempts of the feebler sovereigns of the East to barter its independence for succour against the formidable Turks: it is still the religion of revived Greece, and of the vast Russian empire. Greek Theology.

Latin Christianity, on the other hand, seemed endowed with an inexhaustible principle of expanding life. No sooner

had the Northern tribes entered within its magic circle, than they submitted to its yoke: and, not content with thus conquering its conquerors, it was constantly pushing forward its own frontier, and advancing into the strongholds of Northern Paganism. Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings. Their organisation was coincident with the bounds of Christendom; they were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence—the canon law,—co-ordinate with and of equal authority with the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific, almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign. Western Monasticism, in its general character, was not the barren, idly laborious or dreamy quietude of the East. It was industrious and productive: it settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern discipline, it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism; and by its perpetual rivalry, stimulating the zeal, or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated swamps, enclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilisation tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis

Latin Christianity.

Latin Monasticism.

it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of Monasticism: it made itself secular to overcome the world. But the compromise could not endure. Over the Indians of South America alone, but for the force of circumstances, it might have been lasting. In Eastern India it became a kind of Christian Paganism; in Europe a moral and religious Rationalism, fatal both to morals and to religion.

Throughout this period, then, of at least ten centuries, Latin Christianity was the religion of the Western nations of Europe: Latin the religious language; the Latin translation of the Scriptures the religious code of mankind. Latin theology was alone inexhaustibly prolific, and held wide and unshaken authority. On most speculative tenets this theology had left to Greek controversialists to argue out the endless transcendental questions of religion, and contented itself with resolutely embracing the results, which she fixed in her inflexible theory of doctrine. The only controversy which violently disturbed the Western Church was the practical one, on which the East looked almost with indifference, the origin and motive principle of human action—grace and free will. This, from Augustine to Luther and Jansenius, was the interminable, still reviving problem. Latin Christian literature, like Greek, might have seemed already to have passed its meridian after Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and, high above all, Augustine. The age of true Latin poetry, no doubt, had long been over; the imaginative in Christianity could only find its expression to some extent in the legend and in the ritual; but, except in a very few hymns, it was not till out of the wedlock of Latin with the Northern tongues, not till after new languages had been born in the freshness of youth, that there were great Christian poets:

Latin Christianity.

poets not merely writing on religious subjects, but instinct with the religious life of Christianity,—Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Shakspeare, Milton, Calderon, Schiller. But not merely did Latin theology expand into another vast and teeming period, that of the Schoolmen, culminating in Aquinas; but Latin being the common language, the clergy the only learned body throughout Europe, it was that of law, in both its branches; of science, of philosophy, even of history; of letters; in short, of civilisation. Latin Christianity, when her time was come, had her great æra of art, not only as the preserver of the traditions of Greek and Roman skill in architecture, and some of the technical operations in sculpture and painting, but original and creative. It was art comprehending architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, Christian in its fullest sense, as devoted entirely to Christian uses, expressive of Christian sentiments, arising out of and kindling in congenial spirits Christian thought and feeling.

Its character.

The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that of the old Latin world—a firm and even obstinate adherence to legal form, whether of traditionary usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by an hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a constrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort.

Latin Christianity maintained its unshaken dominion until, what I venture to call, Teutonic Christianity,[b] aided by

[b] Throughout the world, wherever the Teutonic is the groundwork of the

the invention of paper and of printing, asserted its independence, threw off the great mass of traditionary religion, and out of the Bible summoned forth a more simple faith, which seized at once on the reason, on the conscience, and on the passions of men. This faith, with a less perfectly organised outward system, has exercised a more profound moral control, through the sense of strictly personal responsibility. Christianity[c] became a vast influence working irregularly on individual minds, rather than a great social system, coerced by a central supremacy, by an all-embracing spiritual control, and held together by rigid usage, or by outward signs of common citizenship. Its multiplicity and variety, rather than its unity, was the manifestation of its life; or rather its unity lay deeper in its being, and consisted more in intellectual sympathies, in affinities of thought and feeling, of principles and motives, in a more remote or rather untraceable kindred through the common Father and common Saviour. Ceremonial uniformity seemed to retire into subordinate importance and estimation. Books gradually became, as far as the instruction of the human race, a co-ordinate priesthood. No longer rare, costly, inaccessible, or unintelligible, they descended to classes which they had never before approached. Eloquence or argument, instead of expiring on the ears of an entranced but limited auditory, addressed mankind at large, flew through kingdoms, crossed seas,

Teutonic Christianity.

language, the Reformation either is, or, as in Southern Germany, has been dominant; wherever Latin, Latin Christianity has retained its ascendancy.

[c] It is obvious that I use Christianity, and indeed Teutonic Christianity, in its most comprehensive significance, from national episcopal churches, like that of England, which aspires to maintain the doctrines and organisation of the apostolic, or immediately post-apostolic ages, onward to that dubious and undefinable verge where Christianity melts into a high moral theism, a faith which would expand to purer spirituality with less distinct dogmatic system; or that which would hardly call itself more than a Christian philosophy, a religious Rationalism. I presume not, neither is it the office of the historian, to limit the blessings of our religion either in this world or the world to come; "there is One who will know his own." As an historian I can disfranchise none who claim, even on the slightest grounds, the privileges and hopes of Christianity: repudiate none who do not place themselves without the pale of believers and worshippers of Christ, or of God through Christ.

perpetuated and promulgated themselves to an incalculable extent. Individual men could not but be working out in their own studies, in their own chambers, in their own minds, the great problems of faith. The primal records of Christianity, in a narrow compass, passed into all the vernacular languages of the world, where they could not be followed by the vast, scattered, and ambiguous volumes of tradition. The clergy became less and less a separate body (the awakened conscience of men refused to be content with vicarious religion through them); they ceased to be the sole arbiters of man's destiny in another life: they sank back into society, to be distinguished only as the models and promoters of moral and religious virtue, and so of order, happiness, peace, and the hope of immortality. They derived their influence less from a traditionary divine commission, or vested authority, than from their individual virtue, knowledge, and earnest, if less authoritative, inculcation of divine truth. Monasticism was rejected as alien to the primal religion of the Gospel; the family life, the life of the Christian family, resumed its place as the highest state of Christian grace and perfection.

Progressive development of Christianity.

This progressive development of Christianity seems the inevitable consequence of man's progress in knowledge, and in the more general dissemination of that knowledge. Human thought is almost compelled to assert, and cannot help asserting, its original freedom. And as that progress is manifestly a law of human nature, proceeding from the divine Author of our being, this self-adaptation of the one true religion to that progress must have the divine sanction, and may be supposed, without presumption, to have been contemplated in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

The full and more explicit expansion of these views on this Avatar of Teutonic Christianity must await its proper place at the close of our history.

BOOK I.

CHRONOLOGY OF FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
42	1 St. Peter (according to Jerome).	Claudius, year 2	
43	2		Claudius in Britain
44	3		Death of Herod.
45	4		Agrippa the Younger in favour with Claudius.
46	5		St. Paul visits Jerusalem with Barnabas.
47	6		Tiberius Alexander, Governor in Judea.
48	7		Agrippa the Younger succeeds his uncle, Herod.
49	8		Cumanus, Governor of Judea.
50	9		Council of Jerusalem. 1 Epistle to
51	10		Thessalonians.
52	11		The date of the expulsion of the Jews (Suet. Claud.) uncertain, but as Agrippa in Rome was in high favour, and would protect the Jewish interests, it was probably after his departure from Rome.
53	12		Felix, Governor of Judea. 2 Epistle
54	13	Nero, Oct. 13	to Thessalonians.
55	14		
56	15		Paul at Ephesus. 1 Epistle to Cor.
57	16		At Corinth. Epistle to Galatians.
58	17		At Corinth. Epistle to Romans.
59	18		Death of Agrippa.
60	19		Paul before Felix. Before Festus. In Malta.
61	20		Paul in Rome, writes to the Ephesians.
62	21		
63	22		Paul acquitted. Epistles to Philippians, Colossians, Philemon.
64	23		Fire of Rome. Persecution of the Christians. Florus, Governor of
65	24		Judea.
66	25		Nero goes to Greece.
67	1 Linus (according to Jerome, Irenæus, Eusebius).		Martyrdom of St. Paul—and of St. Peter (?).
68	2 Clement (according to Tertullian and Rufinus).	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.	Death of Nero, in June.
69	3		
70	4		Capture and destruction of Jeru-
71	5		salem.

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
72	6		
73	7		
74	8		
75	9		
76	10		
77	11		
78	1 Cletus, or Anacletus (?).		
79	2 - - - -	Titus	
80	3		
81	4 - - - -	Domitian - -	Death of Titus, Sept. 13.
82	5		
83	6		
84	7		
85	8		
86	9		
87	10		
88	11		
89	12		
90	13		
91	1 Clement (?) (according to later writers).		
92	2		
93	3		
94	4		
95	5 - - - -	- - - -	Death of the Consul Flavius Clemens, on account of Jewish superstition.
96	6 - - - -	Nerva	
97	7		
98	8 - - - -	Trajan	
99	9 - - - -	- - - -	Death of St John (Irenæus, Eusebius).
100	1 Evaristus (?).		
101	2		
102	3		
103	4 - - - -	- - - -	Pliny in Bithynia.
104	5 - - - -	- - - -	Pliny's Letter to Trajan.
105	6		
106	7		
107	8		
108	9		
109	1 Alexander (?).		
110	2		
111	3		
112	4		
113	5		
114	6 - - - -	- - - -	Trajan in the East. Sedition of the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene.
115	7		
116	8		Martyrdom of Ignatius.
117	9 - - - -	Hadrian	
118	10		
119	1 Sixtus (?)		
120	2		
121	3		
122	4		
123	5 - - - -	- - - -	Hadrian at Athens. Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.
124	6		
125	7		
126	8		
127	9		
128	10		
129	1 Telesphorus		
130	2		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
131	3		Hadrian in Egypt.
132	4		Jewish War.
133	5		
134	6		Bar Cochba persecutes the Christians.
135	7		End of the Jewish War.
136	8		Foundation or reconstruction of Ælia on the ruins of Jerusalem.
137	9		
138	10		
139	1 Hyginus		
140	2		
141	3		
142	4		
143	1 Pius I.		
144	2		
145	3		
146	4		
147	5		
148	6		
149	7		
150	8		Polycarp in Rome.
151	9		Marcion in Rome. Justin Martyr, Apology I.
152	10		
153	11		
154	12		
155	13		
156	14		
157	1 Anicetus		
158	2		
159	3		
160	4		
161	5	M. Aurelius (Verus)	
162	6		
163	7		
164	8		
165	9		
166	10		Parthian War ended. Marcus Aurelius in the East. Martyrdom of Polycarp (?).
167	11		Terror about Marcomannian War, Justin Martyr.
168	1 Soter		Apology of Athenagoras.
169	2		Death of Verus.
170	3		
171	4		Letter of Dionysius.
172	5		Apology of Melito, B. of Corinth, Euseb. H.E. iv., 23.
173	6		
174	7		Battle with Quadi—Storm thought miraculous.
175	8		
176	9		
177	1 Eleutherius (or 176)		Martyrs of Lyons.
178	2		
179	3		
180	4	Commodus	
181	5		
182	6		
183	7		
184	8		
185	9		
186	10		
187	11		
188	12		

A.D.		Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
189	13			
190	1	Victor (?)	Pertinax	
191	2	- - - -	Julianus	
192	3	- - - -	Niger	
193	4	- - - -	Severus	
194	5	- - - -	- - - -	Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla.
195	6			
196	7	- - - -	- - - -	Dispute about Easter.—Euseb. E. v. 24.
197	8			
198	9			
199	10			
200	11			
201	12			
202	1	Zephyrinus (?)	- - - -	Persecution of Severus in Egypt.
203	2	- - - -	- - - -	Origen teaches in Egypt.
204	3			
205	4			
206	5			
207	6	- - - -	- - - -	Tertullian, Lib. I. Adv. Marcion. He is now a Montanist.
208	7			
209	8			
210	9			
211	10	- - - -	Caracalla, Geta	
212	11	- - - -	- - - -	Origen at Rome. Tertullian ad Scapulam (?).
213	12			
214	13			
215	14			
216	15			
217	16	- - - -	Macrinus	
218	17	- - - -	Elagabulus -	Hippolytus bishop of Porto.
219	1	Callistus		
220	2			
221	3			
222	4	- - - -	Alexander Severus	
223	1	Urbanus		
224	2			
225	3			
226	4			
227	5			
228	6			
229	7			
230	1	Pontianus, July 22		
231	2			
232	3			
233	4			
234	5			
235	6	Anteros (Pontianus died Sept. 28.) Anteros d. June 18, 236.	Maximinus - The 2 Gordians Pupienus Balbi	Pontianus banished to Sardinia. His Martyrdom (?) Martyrdom of Hippolytus (?)
236	1	Fabianus		
237	2			
238	3	- - - -	Gordianus Junior	
239	4			
240	5			
241	6			
242	7			
243	8			
244	9	- - - -	Philippus Arabs	
245	10			
246	11			

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
247	12		
248	13 - - - -	- - - -	Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.
249	14 - - - -	Decius - -	Martyrdom of Fabianus, Jan. 20
250	See vacant.		
251	1 Cornelius June 4, d. Sept. 14	Gallus - -	St. Cyprian.
252	1 Lucius		
253	1 Stephen - -	- - - -	Death of Origen.
254	2 - - - -	Æmilianus Valerianus	Controversy concerning the Lapsi. Novatian Antipope.
255	3		
256	4 - - - -	- - - -	Controversy about baptism of Heretics. III. Council of Carthage.
257	Sixtus II., Martyr. d. Aug. 2, 258.	- - - -	Exile of Cyprian.
258	Vacancy.	- - - -	Martyrdom of Sixtus. Martyrdom of Cyprian, Sept. 14.
259	1 Dionysius, July 22		
260	2 - - - -	Gallienus	
261	3		
262	4		
263	5		
264	6		
265	7		
266	8		
267	9		
268	10 - - - -	Claudius	
269	1 Felix		
270	2 - - - -	Aurelian - -	Paul of Samosata deposed.
271	3		
272	4 - - - -	- - - -	Manes from A.D. 241 to A.D. 272.
273	5		
274	6		
275	1 Eutychianus - -	Tacitus, Probus	
276	2 - - - -	Florianus	
277	3		
278	4		
279	5		
280	6		
281	7		
282	8 - - - -	Carus, Carinus	
283	1 Caius - - -	Numerianus.	
284	2 - - - -	Diocletian	
285	3		
286	4 - - - -	Maximian	
287	5		
288	6		
289	7		
290	8 - - - -	- - - -	Lactantius.
291	9		
292	10 - - - -	Two Cæsars,	
293	11	Constantius,	
294	12	Galerius	
295	13		
296	1 Marcellinus June 30	- - - -	Arnobius.
297	2		
298	3		
299	4		
300	5		
301	6 - - - -	- - - -	Persecution.
302	7		
303	8		
304	Died Oct. 24	Constantius, Galerius	Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
305	See vacant.		
306	- - - - -	Severus Maximin	
307	- - - - -	Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, Maximian	
308	Marcellus, May 19	Six Emperors	Death of Severus.
309			
310	Eusebius, 6 months	- - - -	Death of Maximian
311	1 Vacancy. Melchiades, July 2	- - - -	Death of Galerius.
312	- - - - -	- - - -	Victory of Constantine over Maxentius
313	- - - - -	- - - -	Edict of Milan, Oct. 28.
314	1 Sylvester, Jan. 31		
315	2		
316	3		
317	4		
318	5		
319	6		
320	7		
321	8		
322	9		
323	10 - - - -	- - - -	Defeat and death of Licinius.
324	11 - - - -	- - - -	Constantine sole Emperor.
325	12 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Nicea, June 19
326	13		
327	14		
328	15		
329	16		
330	17		
331	18		
332	19		
333	20		
334	21		
335	22		
336	1 Marcus, Jan. 18 -	- - - -	Exile of Athanasius.
337	1 Julius I., Feb. 6 -	Constantine, Constans, Constantius	Baptism of Constantine.
338	2 - - - -	- - - -	Athanasius returns from exile.
339	3		
340	4 - - - -	- - - -	Constantine defeated and killed by Constans. Death of Eusebius of Cæsarea.
341	5 - - - -	- - - -	Athanasius in Rome. Law against
342	6		Pagan sacrifices.
343	7		
344	8 - - - -	- - - -	Athanasius at Milan, in Gaul.
345	9		
346	10		
347	11 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Sardica.
348	12 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Philippopolis.
349	13 - - - -	- - - -	Athanasius in Alexandria.
350	14 - - - -	Magnentius -	Constans killed in Spain by Magnentius.
351	15		
352	1 Julius died April 5 Liberius, May 22		
353	2 - - - -	Constantius alone	Battle of Mursa. Death of Magnentius.
354	3 - - - -	- - - -	Birth of Augustine.
355	4 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Arles. Council of Milan. Banishment of Liberius.

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
356	5 (Felix, Anti-Pope)	- - - -	Julian's Campaign in Gaul. Athanasius exiled from Alexandria.
357	6 - - - -	- - - -	Constantius at Rome.
358	7 - - - -	- - - -	Recall of Liberius.
359	8 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Rimini. Council of Seleucia
360	9		
361	10 - - - -	Julian - -	Death of Constantius.
362	11 - - - -	- - - -	Athanasius returns to Alexandria—again expelled.
363	12 - - - -	Jovian - -	Attempt to rebuild the Temple.
364	13 - - - -	Valentinian, Valens	Death of Julian, June 26.
365	14		
366	15 died Sept 29.		
367	1 Damasus - -	Gratian - -	Tumults at Rome on the contested election of Damasus and Ursicinus.
368	2		
369	3		
370	4		
371	5		
372	6		
373	7 - - - -	- - - -	Death of Athanasius, May 2.
374	8		
375	9 - - - -	Valentinian II.	Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.
376	10		
377	11		
378	12 - - - -	- - - -	Death of Valens.
379	13 - - - -	Theodosius, Emp. of the East	Theodosius expels the Arians. Synod against Priscillian
380	14 - - - -	- - - -	Council of Constantinople. Address of Symmachus on Statute of
381	15		Theodosius de Hereticis.
382	16		
383	17		
384	18 Damasus died Dec. 11	- - - -	Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
385	1 Siricius.		
386	2		
387	3 - - - -	- - - -	Chrysostom at Antiochenos.
388	4		
389	5		
390	6 - - - -	- - - -	Temple of Serapis destroyed.
391	7		
392	8		
393	9 - - - -	- - - -	Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
394	10		
395	11 - - - -	Honorius, Arcadius	
396	12		
397	13		
398	14 died Nov. 26 -	- - - -	Death of Ambrose.
399	Anastasius - - -	- - - -	Chrysostom Bishop of Constantinople.
400			

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF ROMAN CHRISTIANITY.

Roman Pontificate the centre of Latin Christianity.

Latin Christianity, from its commencement, in its character and in all the circumstances of its development, had an irresistible tendency to monarchy. Its capital had for ages been the capital of the world, and it still remained that of Western Europe. This monarchy reached its height under Hildebrand and Innocent III.; the history of the Roman Pontificate thus becomes the centre of Latin Christian History. The controversies of the East, in which Occidental or Roman Christianity mingled with a lofty dictation, sometimes so unimpassioned, that it might seem as though the establishment of its own supremacy was its ultimate aim—the conversion of the different races of Barbarians, who constituted the world of Latin Christendom—Monasticism, with the forms which it assumed in its successive Orders—the rise and conquests of Mohammedanism, with which Latin religion came at length into direct conflict, at first in Spain, and Gaul, in Sicily and Italy; afterwards when the Popes placed themselves at the head of the Crusades, and Islam and Latin Christianity might seem to contest the dominion of the human race—the restoration of the Western empire beyond the Alps—the feudal system of which the Pope aspired to be as it were the spiritual Suzerain—the long and obstinate conflicts with the temporal power—the origin and tenets of the sects which attempted to withdraw from the unity of the church, and to retire into independent communities—the first struggles of the human mind for freedom within Latin Christendom—the gradual growth of Christian literature, Christian art, and Christian philosophy—all these momentous subjects range themselves as episodes in the chronicle of the Roman bishops. Hence our history obtains

that unity which impresses itself upon the attention, and presents the vicissitudes of centuries as a vast, continuous harmonious whole; while at the same time it breaks up and separates itself into distinct periods, each with its marked events, peculiar character, and commanding men. And so the plan of our work may, at least, attempt to fulfil the two great functions of history, to arrest the mind and carry it on with unflagging interest, to infix its whole course of events on the imagination and memory, as well by its broad and definite landmarks, as by the life and reality of its details in each separate period. The writer is unfeignedly conscious how far his own powers fall below the dignity of his subject, below the accomplishment of his own conceptions.

I.—The first of these periods in the history of Latin Christianity closes with Pope Damasus and his two successors.[d] Its age of total obscurity is passed, its indistinct twilight is brightening into open day. The Christian bishop is become so important a personage in Rome, as to be the subject of profane history. His election is a cause of civil strife. Christianity more than equally divides the Patriciate, still more the people; it has already ascended the Imperial throne. Noble matrons and virgins are becoming the vestals of Christian Monasticism. The bitterness of the Heathen party betrays a galling sense of inferiority. Paganism is writhing, struggling, languishing in its death pangs, Christianity growing haughty and wanton in its triumph. A.D. 366-401.

II.—The second ends with Pope Leo the Great. Paganism has made its last vain effort, not now for equality, for toleration. It has been buried under the ruins of the conquered capital. Alaric tramples out its last embers. Rome emerges from its destruction by the Goths a Christian city. The East has wrought out, after the strife of two centuries, the dogmatic system of the church, which Rome receives with haughty condescension, as if she had imposed it on the world. The great Western contro- A.D. 461.

[d] There is another advantage in this division; the first authentic decretal is that of Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus.

versy, Pelagianism, has been agitated and has passed away. A.D. 402-417. Pretensions to the successorship of St. Peter are already heard from Innocent I. Claims are made at least to the authority of a Western Patriarch. In A.D. 440-461. Leo the Great, half a century later, the pope is not merely the greatest personage in Rome, but even in Italy; he takes the lead as a pacific protector against the Barbarians. Leo the Great is likewise the first distinguished writer among the popes.

III.—To the death of Gregory I. (the Great). Chris- A.D. 604. tianity is not only the religion of the Roman or Italian, but in part of the barbarian world. Now takes place the league of Christianity with Barbarism. The old Roman letters and arts die away into almost total extinction. So fallen is Roman literature, that Boethius is a great philosopher, Cassiodorus a great historian, Prudentius, Fortunatus, Juvencus great poets. The East has made its last effort to unite the Christian world under one dominion. Justinian has aspired to legislate for Christendom. Monastic Christianity, having received a strong impulse from St. Benedict, is in the ascendant. Gregory I. as a Pope, and as a writer, offers himself as a model of its excellencies and defects.

IV.—To the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor A.D. 800. of the West. Mohammed and Mohammedanism arise. The East and Egypt are severed from Greek, Africa and Spain from Latin Christianity. Anglo-Saxon Britain, Western and Southern Germany are Christian. Iconoclasm in the East finally separates Greek and Latin Christianity. The Pope has become the great power in Italy. The Gothic kingdom, the Greek dominion of Justinian have passed away. The Pope seeks an alliance against the Lombards with the Transalpine kings. Charlemagne is Patrician of Rome and Emperor of the West.

V.—The Empire of Charlemagne. The mingled Temporal and Ecclesiastical supremacy of Charlemagne breaks up at his death. Under his successors the spiritual supremacy, in part the temporal, falls to the clergy. Growth

of the Transalpine hierarchy. Pope Nicholas the First accepts the false decretals. Invasion of the Northmen. The dark ages of the Papacy lower and terminate in the degradation of the Popes into slaves of the lawless Barons of the Romagna. A.D. 996.

VI.—The line of German Pontiffs. The Transalpine powers interpose, rescue the Papacy from its threatened dissolution, from the hatred and contempt of mankind. For great part of a century foreign ecclesiastics are seated on the Papal throne. A.D. 996-1061.

VII.—The restoration of the Italian Papacy under Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). The Pontificate of his immediate predecessors and successors. Now commences the complete organisation of the sacerdotal caste as independent of, and claiming superiority to all temporal powers. The strife of centuries ends in the enforced celibacy of the clergy. Berengar disputes Transubstantiation. Urban II. places himself at the head of Christendom on the occasion of the first Crusade. A.D. 1061-1073. A.D. 1095.

VIII.—Continuation of contest about Investitures. Intellectual movement. Erigena. Gotschalk. Anselm. Abelard. Arnold of Brescia. Strong revival of Monasticism. Stephen Harding. St. Bernard. Strife in England for immunities of the clergy. Thomas à Becket. Rise of the Emperors of the line of Hohenstaufen. Frederick Barbarossa. The 12th century.

IX.—Meridian of the Papal power under Innocent III. Innocent aspires to rule all the kingdoms of the West. Latin conquest of Constantinople. Wars of the Albigenses. St. Dominic. St. Francis. Successors of Innocent III. wage an internecine conflict with the Emperors. Fruitless and premature attempt at emancipation under Frederick II. The Decretals, the Palladium of the Papal power, are collected, completed, promulgated as the law of Christendom by Gregory IX. From 1198. Gregory IX. 1228-1238.

X.—Continued conflict of the Papal and Sacerdotal against the Imperial and Secular power. Innocent IV. Fall of the House of Hohenstaufen. Innocent IV. dies 1254.

XI.—The Empire is crushed and withdraws into its Teutonic sphere. The French descend into Italy. In the King of France arises a new adversary to the Pope. Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. close the open strife of the temporal and spiritual power.

Boniface dies 1303.

XII.—The Popes are become the slaves of France at Avignon. What is called the Babylonian captivity of seventy years. Clement V. abolishes the Templars. The Empire resumes its claims on Italy. Henry of Luxemburg. Louis of Bavaria. John XXII. and the Fraticelli. Rienzi.

A.D. 1305 to 1370.

XIII.—Restoration to Rome. The great Schism. Councils of Pisa, of Constance, of Basil, of Florence—the Councils advance a claim to supremacy over the Popes. Last attempt to reconcile Greek and Latin Christianity. Popes begin to be patrons of Letters and Arts.

XIV.—Retrospect of Mediæval Letters and Arts. Revival of Greek Letters.

Conclusion.—Advance of the Reformation. Teutonic Christianity aspires and begins to divide the world with Latin Christianity.

Like almost all the great works of nature and of human power, in the material world and in the world of man, the Papacy grew up in silence and obscurity. The names of the earlier Bishops of Rome are known only by barren lists,[e] by spurious decrees and epistles inscribed, centuries later, with their names; by their collision with the teachers of heretical opinions, almost all of whom found their way to Rome; by martyrdoms ascribed with the same lavish reverence to those who lived under the mildest of the Roman emperors, as well as those under the most

[e] The catalogue published by Bucherius, called also Liberianus, is generally the most accredited. M. Bunsen promises a revision of the whole question. (Hippolytus, i. 279). Historically the chronological discrepancies in these lists are of no great importance. But it is remarkable that almost all the earlier names are Greek; Pius, Victor, Caius, are among the very few genuine Roman.

merciless persecutors.[f] Yet the mythic or imaginative spirit of early Christianity has either respected, or was not tempted to indulge, its creative fertility by the primitive annals of Rome. After the embellishment, if not the invention, of St. Peter's Pontificate, his conflict with Simon Magus in the presence of the Emperor, and the circumstance of his martyrdom, it was content with raising the successive bishops to the rank of martyrs without any peculiar richness or fullness of legend.[g]

It would be singularly curious and instructive to trace, if it were possible, the rise and growth of any single Christian community, more especially that of Rome, at once in the whole church, and in the lives of the bishops; the first initiatory movements in the conquest of the world, of the mistress of the world, by the religion of Christ. How did the Church enlarge her sphere in Rome? how, out of the population (from a million to a million and a half),[h] slowly gather in her tens, her hundreds, her thousands of converts? By what processes, by what influences, by what

[f] In a list of Popes, published by Fabricius (Bibliotheca Græca, xi. p. 794), from St. Peter to Sylvester, two unhappy pontiffs alone (who are acknowledged to be Greeks) are excluded from the honours of martyrdom, Dionysius and Eusebius. It might seem that this list was composed after Greek and Latin Christianity had become hostile. As an illustration of the worthlessness of these traditions, Telesphorus is reckoned as a martyr on the authority of Irenæus (l. ii., c. 3; compare note of Feuardentius). But Telesphorus was bishop of Rome during the reign of Hadrian; his martyrdom is ascribed to the first year of Antoninus Pius. Their character, as well as the general voice of Christian history (see Hist. of Christianity, vol. i. p. 151, 156), absolves these emperors from the charge of persecution.

[g] Two remarkable passages greatly weaken, or rather utterly destroy the authority of all the older Roman martyrologies. In the book, De libris recipiendis, ascribed to the pontificate of Damasus, of Hormisdas, more probably to that of Gelasius, the caution of the Roman Church, in not publicly reading the martyrologies is highly praised, their writers being unknown and without authority. Singulari cautelâ a S. Rom. Ecclesiâ non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripserint nomina penitus ignorantur, et ab infidelibus vel idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esse putantur . . . . The authors "Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt." Apud Mansi, sub Pont. Gelasii, A.D. 492, 496. Gregory I. makes even a more ingenuous confession, that excepting one small volume (a calendar, it should seem, of the names and days in which they were honoured) there were no Acts of Martyrs in the archives of the Roman See or in the libraries of Rome. Præter illa, quæ in ejusdem Eusebii libris (doubtless the de Martyr. Palæst. of the historian), de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla in archivis hujus nostræ Ecclesiæ vel in Romanæ urbis bibliothecis esse cognovi, nisi pauca quædam in unius codicis volumine collecta, *et seqq.* Greg. M. Epist. viii. 29.

[h] Notwithstanding the arguments of M. Dureau de la Malle, and other learned writers who have also investigated this subject, I still think the estimate of Gibbon the most probable.

Obscurity of the first progress of Christianity.

degrees did the Christians creep onward towards dangerous, towards equal, towards superior numbers? How did they find access to the public ear, the public mind, the public heart? How were they looked upon by the government (after the Neronian persecution), with what gradations, or alternations of contempt, of indifference, of suspicion, of animosity? When were they entirely separated and distinguished in general opinion from the Jewish communities? When did they altogether cease to Judaise? From what order, from what class, from what race did they chiefly make their proselytes? Where and by what channels did they wage their strife with the religion, where with the philosophy of the times? To what extent were they permitted or disposed to hold public discussion? or did the work of conversion spread in secret from man to man? When did their worship emerge from the obscurity of a private dwelling; or have its edifices, like the Jewish synagogues, recognised as sacred fanes? Were they, to what extent, and how long, a people dwelling apart within their own usages, and retiring from social communion with their kindred, and with the rest of mankind?

Rome must be imagined in the vastness and multiformity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible, yet continuous aggression of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions, which were constantly calling up new dynasties or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the Imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies, or the more splendid rites on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence, and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets,—Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves, out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of

humanity yet unknown or coldly commended by an impotent philosophy, among men and women, whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm, and rational faith and worship for the worn out superstitions of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being.

Obscurity of the Bishop of Rome.

The dimness and obscurity which veiled the growing church, no doubt threw its modest concealment over the person of the Bishop. He was but one man, with no recognised function, in the vast and tumultuous population. He had his unmarked dwelling, perhaps in the distant Transteverine region, or in the then lowly and unfrequented Vatican. By the vulgar, he was beheld as a Jew, or as belonging to one of those countless Eastern religions, which, from the commencement of the Empire, had been flowing, each with its strange rites and mysteries, into Rome. The Emperor, the Imperial family, the court favourites, the military commanders, the Consulars, the Senators, the Patricians by birth, wealth or favour, the Pontiffs, the great lawyers, even those who ministered to the public pleasures, the distinguished mimes or gladiators, when they appeared in the streets, commanded more public attention than the Christian Bishop, except when sought out for persecution by some politic or fanatic Emperor. Slowly, and at long intervals, did the Bishop of Rome emerge to dangerous eminence. Yet, was there not more real greatness, a more solemn testimony to his faith in Christ, in this calm and steadfast patience which awaited the tardy accomplishment of the divine promises, than if, as he is sometimes described by the fond reverence of later Roman writers, he had already laid claim to supreme power over expanding Christianity, or had been held of sufficient importance to be constantly exposed to death? The Bishop of Rome

could not but be conscious that he was chief minister in the capital of the world of a religion which was confronting Paganism in all its power and majesty. His faith was constantly looking forward to the time, when (if not anticipated by the more appalling triumph at the coming of Christ in His glory) that vast fabric of idolatry, in its strength and wealth, hallowed by the veneration of ages, with all its temples, pomps, theatres, priesthood, its crimes and its superstitions, and besides this, all the wisdom of the philosophic aristocracy, would crumble away; and the successor of the Galilean fisherman or the persecuted Jew be recognised as the religious sovereign of the Christianised city. The peaceful head of a small community (small comparatively with the believers in the old religions or the believers in none), even though, like the Apostle, he may have had some converts in high places, "in Cæsar's household," yet who had no doubt in the future universality of Christianity, and who was content to pursue his noiseless course of beneficence and conversion, is a nobler example of true Christianity, than he who, in the excitement of opposition to power, and in the absorbing but brief agony of martyrdom, laid down his life for the Cross.

Persecution of Nero.

Christianity, indeed, might seem, even from the first, to have disdained obscurity—to have sprung up or to have been forced into terrible notoriety in the Neronian persecution, and the subsequent martyrdom of one at least, according to the vulgar tradition, of its two great Apostles. What caprice of cruelty directed the attention of Nero to the Christians, and made him suppose them victims important enough to glut the popular indignation at the burning of Rome, it is impossible to determine: (the author has ventured on a bold conjecture, and adheres to his own paradox).[i] The cause and extent of the Domitian persecution is equally obscure. The son of Vespasian was not likely to be merciful to any connected with the fanatic Jews. Its known victims were of the imperial family, against whom some crime was necessary, and an accusation of Christianity served the end.[k]

Of Domitian.

At the commencement of the second century, under

[i] Hist. of Christianity, ii. p. 36.

[k] Ibid., ii. p. 59.

Trajan, persecution against the Christians is raging in the East. That, however (I feel increased confidence in the opinion), was a local, or rather Asiatic persecution, arising out of the vigilant and not groundless apprehension of the sullen and brooding preparation for insurrection among the whole Jewish race, with whom Roman terror and hatred still confounded the Christians; which broke out in the bloody massacres of Cyrene and Cyprus, and in the final rebellion, during the reign of Hadrian, under Barchochebas. But while Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is carried to Rome to suffer martyrdom, the Roman community is in peace, and not without influence. Ignatius entreats his Roman brethren not to interfere with injurious kindness between himself and his glorious death.[m] Roman Church under Trajan.

The wealth of the Roman community, and their lavish Christian use of their wealth, by contributing to the wants of foreign churches, at all periods, especially in times of danger and disaster, (an ancient usage which lasted till the time of Eusebius,) testifies at once to their flourishing condition, to their constant communication with more distant parts of the empire,[n] and thus incidentally, perhaps, to the class, the middle or mercantile class, which formed the greater part of the believers.

But the history of Latin Christianity has not begun. For some considerable (it cannot but be an undefinable) part of the three first centuries, the Church of Rome, and most, if not all the churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies. Their language was Greek, their organisation Greek, their writers Church of Rome Greek.

[m] Φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγαπὴν, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ, ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερὲς ἐστιν ὃ θέλετι ποιησαι. — p. 41. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἑκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἐάντερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητέ (με). Παρακαλῶ ὑμεῖς μὴ (ἐν) εὐνοίᾳ ἀκαίρῳ γένησθέ μοι....—Corpus Ignatianum a Cureton, p. 45. I quote Mr. Cureton's Syriac Ignatius, not feeling that the larger copies have equal historical authority.

[n] The first notice of this is in the latter half of the second century, during the bishopric of Soter, either 173–177, or 168–176, as appears from the letter of Dionysius of Corinth, ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο. He calls it also πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος. — Euseb. H. E. iv. 23. It continued during the Decian persecution: Syria and Arabia are described as rejoicing in the bounty of Rome. H. E. vii. 5. Eusebius himself speaks of it as lasting to his time. τὸ μεχρὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλαχθὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔθος.

Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual, their Liturgy was Greek. Through Greek the communication of the churches of Rome and of the West was constantly kept up with the East; and through Greek every heresiarch, or his disciples, having found his way to Rome, propagated, with more or less success, his peculiar doctrines. Greek was the commercial language throughout the empire; by which the Jews, before the destruction of their city, already so widely disseminated through the world, and altogether engaged in commerce, carried on their affairs.[o] The Greek Old Testament was read in the synagogues of the foreign Jews. The churches, formed sometimes on the foundation, to a certain extent on the model, of the synagogues, would adhere for some time, no doubt, to their language. The Gospels and the Apostolic writings, so soon as they became part of the public worship, would be read, as the Septuagint was, in their original tongue. All the Christian extant writings which appeared in Rome and in the West are Greek, or were originally Greek,[p] the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies; the works of Justin Martyr, down to Caius and Hippolytus the author of the Refutation of All Heresies. The Octavius of Minucius Felix,[q]

[o] At the commencement of the second century, from the time of the great peace, which followed the victories of Trajan, and which, with some exceptions, occupied the whole reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, till the Marcomannic war; when the Cæsars had become cosmopolitan sovereigns of the Roman Empire, rather than emperors of Rome; Greek, in letters, appears to have assumed a complete ascendancy. Greek literature has the names of Plutarch, Appian, Arrian, Herodian (the historian), Lucian, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Galen, Sextus Empiricus, Epictetus, Ptolemy. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote his philosophy in Greek. The poets, such as they were, chiefly of the didactic class, Oppian, Nicander, are Greeks. (See, in Fynes Clinton's Appendix to Fasti Romani, the catalogue of Greek authors.) Latin literature might seem to have been in a state of suspended animation after Quintilian, the Plinys, and Tacitus. Not merely are there no writers of name who have survived, but there hardly seem to have been any. From Juvenal to Claudian there is scarcely a poet. The fragments of Fronto, lately discovered, do not make us wish for more of a writer who had greater fame than most of his day. Apuleius was an African.

Jurisprudence alone maintained the dignity and dominion of Latin. The great lawyers, Ulpian, Paulus, and their colleagues, are the only famous writers. Latin law alone, of Latin letters, was studied in the schools of the East. The Greek writers of the day are many of them ignorant of Latin.

[p] Ubrigens war die Griechische Sprache noch fast die einzige Kirchensprache. Gieseler, i. p. 203. (Compare the passage.)

[q] Some place the Octavius in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, others between

and the Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity, are the earliest known works of Latin Christian literature which came from Rome. So was it too in Gaul: there the first Christians were settled, chiefly in the Greek cities, which owned Marseilles as their parent, and which retained the use of Greek as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in Greek. Vestiges of the old Greek ritual long survived not only in Rome, but also in some of the Gallic churches. The Kyrie eleison still lingers in the Latin service.[r] The singular fact, related by the historian Sozomen, that, for the first centuries, there was no public preaching in Rome, here finds its explanation. Greek was the ordinary language of the community, but among the believers and worshippers may have been Latins, who understood not, or understood imperfectly, the Greek. The Gospel or sacred writings were explained according to the capacities of the persons present. Hippolytus indeed composed, probably delivered, homilies in Greek, in imitation of Origen, who, when at Rome, may have preached in Greek; and this is spoken of as something new. Pope Leo I. was the first celebrated Latin preacher, and 440-461. his brief and emphatic sermons read like the first essays of a rude and untried eloquence, rather than the finished compositions which would imply a long study and cultivation of pulpit oratory. Compare them with Chrysostom.[s]

Africa,[t] not Rome, gave birth to Latin Christianity.

Tertullian and Cyprian. Gieseler, note, p. 207.

[r] Martene, de Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus, i. p. 102: he quotes the anonymous Turonius. Nos canimus illud Græcè juxta morem antiquum Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui tam Græci quam Latini solebant antiquitus deservire, et a Græcis habitabatur maxima pars Italiæ, *et seqq.* This is evidence for the Church of Tours. It is by no means clear when the Latin service began, even in Rome. There is much further illustration of the co-existence of the Latin and Greek service in the West, to a late period. Compare Martene, iii. 35. The Epistle and Gospel were read in both languages to a late period. Mabillon, Iter Italicum, ii. pp. 168 and 453. In Southern Gaul Latin had not entirely dispossessed Greek in the fifth century: Greek was still spoken by part of the population of Arles. (See Fauriel, Gaule Méridionale, i. p. 432.)

[s] In Rome neither the Bishop nor any one else publicly preached to the people, οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. H. E. vii. 19. In Alexandria the bishop alone preached. Compare Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. i. p. 318.

[t] Of Africa Greek was the general language no further East than the Cyrenaica; westward the old Punic lan-

Tertullian was the first Latin writer, at least the first who commanded the public ear; and there is strong ground for supposing that, since Tertullian quotes the sacred writings perpetually and copiously, the earliest of those many Latin versions, noticed by Augustine, and on which Jerome grounded his Vulgate, were African.[u] Cyprian kept up the tradition of ecclesiastical Latin. Arnobius, too, was an African.[x]

Africa parent of Latin Christianity.

Thus the Roman church was but one of the confederation of Greek religious republics, founded by Christianity. As of Apostolic origin, still more as the church of the capital of the world, it was, of course, of paramount dignity and importance. It is difficult to exaggerate the height at which Rome, before the foundation of Constantinople, stood above the other cities of the earth; the centre of commerce, the centre of affairs, the centre of empire. The Christians, like the rest of mankind, were constantly ebbing and flowing out of Rome and into Rome. The church of the capital could not but assume something of the dignity of the capital; it was constantly receiving, as it were, the homage of all the foreign Christians, who, from interest, business, ambition, curiosity, either visited or took up their residence in the Eternal City.

Church of Rome, centre of Christendom.

The Roman Church, if it had become prematurely Latin, would have been isolated and set apart from the rest of Christendom; remaining Greek, it became also the natural and inevitable centre of Christianity. The public documents

guage prevailed, even where the Roman conquerors had superinduced Latin. Even Tertullian wrote also in Greek. Latinè *quoque* ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere. (De Virgin. veland.) Sed et huic materiæ propter suaviludios nostros Græco quoque stylo satisfeeimus. De Coron. Mil. vi.

[u] Vetus hæc interpretatio vix dubitari potest quin inter eam gentem quæ Græcæ linguæ minimè perita esset, nata fuerit, hoc est in Africâ. Lachman, Pref. in Nov. Test. Lachman quotes a learned Dissertation of Cardinal Wiseman as conclusive on this point. This dissertation I have not seen. The dubious passage of St. Augustine, on which alone rests the tradition of the Versio *Itala*, I would read, after Bentley, as Bishop Marsh and most of the later biblical scholars, *illa*.—Marsh's Introduction, note, vol. ii. p. 623.

I would suggest, as a curious investigation, if it has not yet been executed by any considerable scholar (which I presume not to assert), a critical comparison of the Latinity of the old version, as published by Sabatier, and even of the Vulgate, with the Latin of Tertullian, Cyprian, Apuleius of Madaura, and other African writers.

[x] Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius are to the Greek divines what Cicero was to the Greek philosophers—writers of popular abstracts in that which in his hands was, in theirs aspired to be, elegant Latin.

of the Christian world spoke throughout the same language; no interpretation was necessary between the East and the West.[y] To the unity of the Church this was of infinite importance. The Roman Christians and their Bishop were the constituted guardians and protectors of what may be called the public interests of Christianity. In Rome they beheld, or had the earliest intelligence of, every revolution in the empire; they had the first cognisance of all the Imperial edicts which might affect the brethren. On them, even if they had no access to the counsels or to the palace of the Emperor, on their influence, on their conduct, might in some degree depend the fate of Christendom. They were in the van, the first to foresee the threatened persecution, the first to suffer. The Bishop of Rome, as long as the Emperor ruled in Rome, was at once in the post of the greatest distinction, and that of the greatest difficulty and danger. The Christian world would look with trembling interest on his conduct, as his example might either glorify or disgrace the Church; on his prudence or his temerity, on his resolution or on his weakness, might result the orders dispatched to every prefect or proconsul in the Empire. Local oppressions or local persecutions would be confined to a city or a province; in Rome might be the signal for the general proscription. The eyes of all Christendom must thus have constantly been fixed on Rome and on the Roman Bishop.

But if Rome, or the Church of Rome, was thus the centre of the more peaceful influences of Christianity, and of the hopes and fears of the Christian world, it was no less inevitably the chosen battle field of her civil wars; and Christianity has ever more faithfully recorded her dissensions than her conquests. In Rome every feud which distracted the infant community reached its height; nowhere do the Judaising tenets seem to have been more obstinate, or to have held so long and stubborn a conflict with more full and genuine Christianity. In Rome

Centre of Christian controversies.

[y] As late as the middle of the third century, after the Novatian schism, Pope Cornelius writes in Greek to Fabius of Antioch. Eusebius records as something new and extraordinary that letters from Cyprian to the Asiatic bishops are in Latin. H. E. vi. 43.

every heresy, almost every heresiarch, found welcome reception. All new opinions, all attempts to harmonise Christianity with the tenets of the Greek philosophers, with the Oriental religions, the Cosmogonies, the Theophanies, and Mysteries of the East were boldly agitated, either by the authors of the Gnostic systems or by their disciples. Valentinus the Alexandrian was himself in Rome, so also was Marcion of Sinope. The Phrygian Montanus, with his prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, if not present, had their sect, a powerful sect, in Rome and in Africa. In Rome their convert, for a time at least, was the Pope; in Africa, Tertullian. Somewhat later, the precursors of the great Trinitarian controversy came from all quarters. Praxeas, an Asiatic; Theodotus, a Byzantine; Artemon, an Asiatic; Noetus, a Smyrniote, at least his disciples, the Deacon Epigenes and Cleomenes, taught at Rome. Sabellius, from Ptolemais in Cyrene, appeared in person; his opinions took their full development in Rome. Not only do all these controversies betray the inexhaustible fertility of the Greek or Eastern imagination, not only were they all drawn from Greek or Oriental doctrines, but they must have been still agitated, discussed, ramified into their parts and divisions, through the versatile and subtile Greek. They were all strangers and foreigners; not one of all these systems originated in Rome, in Italy, or in Africa.[z] On all these opinions the Bishop of Rome was almost compelled to sit in judgment; he must receive or reject, authorise or condemn; he was a proselyte, whom it would be the ambition of all to gain. No one unfamiliar with Greek, no one not to a great extent Greek by birth, by education, or by habit, could in any degree comprehend the conflicting theories.

About A.D. 140.

The Judaising opinions, combated by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, maintained their ground among some of the Roman Christians for above a

Judaising Christianity.

[z] A passage of Aulus Gellius illustrates the conscious inadequacy of the Latin to express, notwithstanding the innovations of Cicero, the finer distinctions of the Greek philosophy: Hæc Favorinum dicentem audivi Græcâ oratione, cujus sententias, quantum meminisse potui, retuli. Amœnitates vero et copias ubertatesque verborum, Latina omnis facundia vix quidem indispisci potuerit. Noct. Att. xii. Favorinus, of the time of Hadrian, was a native of Arles in Gaul.

century or more after that Apostle's death. A remarkable monument attests their power and vitality. There can be slight doubt that the author of that singular work, commonly called the Clementina, was a Roman, or rather a Greek domiciled in Rome.[a] Its Roman origin is almost proved by the choice of the hero in this earliest of religious romances. Clement, who sets forth as a heathen philosopher in search of truth, becomes the companion of St. Peter in the East, the witness of his long and stubborn strife with his great adversary, Simon the Magician; and if the letter prefixed to the work be a genuine part of it,[b] becomes the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome. It bears in its front, and throughout, the character of a romance; it can hardly be considered even as mythic history. Its groundwork is that so common in the latest Greek and in the Latin comedy, and in the Greek novels; adventures of persons cast away at sea, and sold into slavery; lost children by strange accidents restored to their parents, husbands to their wives; amusing scenes in what we may call the middle or mercantile life of the times. It might seem borrowed, in its incidents, from a play of Plautus or Terence, or from their originals; a kind of type of the Æthiopics of Bishop Heliodorus, or the Chærea and Callirhoe. The religious interest is still more remarkable, and no doubt faithfully represents the views and tenets of a certain sect or class of Christians. It is the work of a Judaising Christian, according to a very peculiar form of Ebionitism.[c] The scene is chiefly laid in Palestine and its neighbourhood, its original language is Greek. The views of the author as to the rank, influence, and relative position of the Apostles, is among its most singular characteristics. So far from ascribing any primacy to St. Peter, though St. Peter is throughout the leading personage, James, Bishop of Jerusalem, is the acknowledged head of Christendom, the arbiter of Christian doctrine, the Bishop of Bishops, to whom Peter himself

The Clementina.

[a] This is the unanimous opinion of those who, in later days, have critically investigated the Clementina — Schlieman, Neander, Baur, Gieseler. ἔγω Κλήμης Ῥωμαίος ὢν, in init. This does not prove much.

[b] I entertain some doubt on this point. A good critical edition of this work, in its various forms, is much to be desired.

[c] This is abundantly proved by Schlieman and by Neander.

bows with submissive reverence. Of any earlier visits of Peter to Rome the author is ignorant. Clement encounters the Apostle in Palestine; in Palestine or in the East is carried on the whole strife with Simon Magus. Yet Peter is the Apostle of the Gentiles, to Peter the heathens owe their Christianity. More than this, there is a bitter hatred to St. Paul, which betrays itself in brief, covert, sarcastic allusion, not to be mistaken in its object or aim.[d] The whole purpose of the work is to assert a Petrine, a Judaising, an anti-Pauline Christianity. The Gospel is but a republication of the Law, that is, the pure, genuine, original Law, which emanated from God. God is light, his Wisdom or his Spirit (these are identified and are both the Son of God) has dwelt in different men, from Adam to Jesus. The whole world is one vast system of Dualisms, or Antagonisms. The antagonism of Simon Magus to St. Peter is chiefly urged in the Clementine homilies; but there are manifest hints, more perhaps than hints, of a second antagonism between Peter and Paul, the teacher of Christianity with the Law, and the teacher of Christianity without the Law. Here then is the representative of what can scarcely be supposed an insignificant party in Rome (the various forms, reconstructions, and versions in which the Clementina appear, whole, or in fragments, attest their wide-spread popularity) who does not scruple to couple fiction with the most sacred names. Of the whole party it must have been the obvious interest to exalt St. Peter, to assert him as the founder, the Bishop of the true Church in Rome; and it is certainly singular that in all the early traditions, which are more than allusions to St. Peter at Rome, Simon Magus appears as his shadow. Has, then, the myth grown out of the pure fiction, or is the fiction but an expansion of the myth?[e]

[d] In the letter of St. Peter, *τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν, τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.* If we could doubt that here St. Paul, not Simon Magus is meant, the allusions xi. 35, xvii. 19, and elsewhere, to the very acts and words of St. Paul are conclusive. Compare Schlieman, Die Clementine, 74, 96, 534, &c.

[e] Strictly speaking the authority for Simon Magus being at Rome is earlier than that for St. Peter. The famous passage of Justin Martyr on the inscription Semoni Sanco, is about twenty years older than the Epistle of Dionysius of Corinth,—the first *distinct* assertion of St. Peter in Rome. Euseb. H. E. ii. 13, 14.

At all events these works are witnesses to the perpetuity and strength, to a late period, of these Judaising opinions in Rome.[f] Their fictitious form in no way invalidates their authority as expressing living opinions, tenets and sentiments. If not Roman (I have slight doubt on this head), there is an attestation to the wide spread oppugnancy of a Petrine and a Pauline party; to strong divergence of opinion as to the relative rank and dignity of the Apostles.

Out of the antagonism between Judaïc and anti-Judaïc Christianity arose the first conflict, in which the Bishop of Rome, as the leader of a great part of the Christian confederation, assumed unwonted authority. Difference of opinion did not necessarily lead to open strife —from difference of observance it was unavoidable. The controversy about the time of keeping Easter, or rather the Paschal Feast, had slept from the days of Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome. Towards the close of the second century it broke out again. Rome, it is remarkable, now held the anti-Judaïc usage of the variable feast, and in this concurred with the churches of Palestine, of Cæsarea, and Jerusalem. These were chiefly of Gentile descent, and probably from near neighbourhood to the Jews were most averse to the usages of that hostile and odious race. The Asiatic churches had adhered to the ancient Jewish custom, the observance of the 14th day of the month (Nisan). The controversy seems to have been awakened in Rome by one Blastus,[g] denounced as endeavouring secretly to enslave the Church to Judaism. The Bishop Victor deposed the obstinate schismatic from the Roman Presbytery. But the strife was not confined to Rome. The Asiatic Christians, under Polycrates of Ephesus, maintained their own, the Judaïc usage, sanctioned, as was asserted, by the martyr Polycarp, by Philip the Deacon, and even by St. John. Victor, supported by the Bishops, Theophilus of the Palestinian Cæsarea, Narcissus of Jeru-

Controversy about Easter.

A.D. 109.

A.D. 196.

[f] Schlieman assigns the Recognitions to some time between 212 and 230—the Clementina, no doubt, are of an *earlier* date. p. 327, *et seqq.*

[g] Est præterea his omnibus Blastus accedens, qui latenter Judaismum vult introducere. Pascha enim dicit non aliter custodiendum esse nisi secundum legem Moysi xiiii, mensis.—Præscript. Hæret. This is from an addition, probably an ancient one, to the Treatise of Tertullian.

salem, by some in Pontus, in Osroene, in Gaul, and by Bacchylides of Corinth, peremptorily demanded a Council to judge the Asiatic Bishops; threatened or actually pronounced a disruption of all communion with those who presumed to maintain their stubborn difference from himself and the rest of the Christian world.[h] The strife was appeased by the interposition of Irenæus, justly, according to the Ecclesiastical historian, called a Man of Peace. Irenæus was Bishop of Vienne in Gaul; and so completely is Christianity now one world, that a Bishop of Gaul allays a feud in which the Bishop of Rome is in alliance with the Bishops of Syria and of the remoter East, against those of Asia Minor. Africa does not look with indifference on the controversy. Irenæus had already written an epistle to Blastus in Rome, reproving him as author of the schism: he now wrote to the Bishop Victor, asserting the right of the Churches to maintain their own usages on such points, and recommending a milder tone on these ceremonial questions.[i]

It was not till the Council of Nicea that Christendom acquiesced in the same Paschal Cycle.

Reign of Commodus, 180-193.

The reign of Commodus, commencing with the last twenty years of the second century, is an epoch in the history of Western Christendom. The feud between the Judaising and anti-Judaising parties in Rome seemed to expire with the controversy about Easter. The older Gnostic systems of Valentinus and Marcion had had their day. Montanism was expelled from Rome to find refuge in Africa. In Africa Latin Christianity began to take its proper form in the writings of Tertullian. Rome was absorbed in the inevitable disputes concerning the Divinity of the Saviour, the prelude to the great Trinitarian controversy. The Bishops of Rome, Eleutherius, still more Victor, and at the commencement of the third century Zephyrinus, Callistus, before dimly known by scattered allusions in Tertullian and Eusebius, and still later writers, have suddenly emerged into light in the

[h] Euseb. H. E. v. 15.

[i] The Latin book ascribed to Novatian, against the Jewish distinction of meats, shews Judaism still struggling within the church on its most vital peculiarities. The author of this tract wrote also against circumcision and the Jewish sabbath.

contemporary work, justly, to all appearance, attributed to Hippolytus Bishop of Portus.[k]

The Christians, from the death of M. Aurelius, throughout the reign of Commodus, enjoyed undisturbed peace with the civil government.[m] But many of the victims of the persecution under Aurelius were pining in the unwholesome mines of Sardinia. Marcia, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Commodus, whom he treated as his wife, who held the state of an Empress, was favourable to the Christians: how far she herself had embraced the doctrines, how, if herself disposed to Christianity, she reconciled it with her life, does not appear.[n] The Bishop Victor did not scruple (such scruples had been too fastidiously rigorous) to employ her influence for the release of his exiled brethren: they all returned to Rome.[o] This state of peace seemed to quicken into more active life the brooding elements of discord, and to invite the founders of new systems, or their busy proselytes, to Rome. Already had spread to Europe, to Africa, to Rome itself, from the depths of Phrygia, the disciples of Montanus. It is probable that these Montanist or kindred prophecies of coming wars, and the approaching Dissolution of the World (a vaticination which involved or rather signified to the jealous Roman ear only the ruin of the Empire), may have aided in exciting the religious terrors and indignation of the philosophic Emperor and of the Roman world against the Christians, and so have been one cause of the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius.[p] Montanus himself,

Marcia.

Discord in Rome.

Montanism.

[k] The Chevalier Bunsen's very learned work has proved the authorship of Hippolytus to my full satisfaction—so likewise Dr. Wordsworth—Hippolytus.

[m] Asterius Urbanus apud Eusebium, H. E. v. 16. Compare Moyle's works, ii. p. 265.—The peace lasted for thirteen years after the death of Maximilla the Montanist, just the period of the reign of Commodus.

[n] οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπεῖχε γαμετῆς γυναικὸς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπῆρχεν ὅσα Σεβαστῃ πλὴν τοῦ πυρός. Herodian, i. 50. Her complicity in the murder of Commodus was but to avert her own. Commodus must have been insane; Marcia strove, even with tears, to dissuade him from the disgrace of appearing in public as a gladiator; his two ministers joined their strong remonstrances. Commodus, in revenge, marked down her name, and those of Lætus and Eclectus, his faithful counsellors, for death. The fatal tablet fell into the hands of Marcia. They anticipated their own doom by that of Commodus. Herodian, ibid. Marcia *afterwards* married Eclectus.—Dion Cassius, or Xiphylin, lvii. 4.

[o] Refutatio Hæresium, p. 287.

[p] This further confirms the author's view of the cause of the persecutions under M. Aurelius. Hist. of Christianity, Book ii. c. 7.

and Maximilla, his chief prophetess, seem not to have travelled beyond the confines of Phrygia.[q] But their followers swarmed over Christendom. They dispersed or revealed to the initiated in countless books, the visions of Montanus, and his no less inspired female followers, Priscilla and Maximilla.[r] Montanism, strictly speaking, was no heresy; in their notions of God and of Christ, these sectaries departed not from the received doctrine. But beyond, and as the consummation and completion of the Christian Revelation, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, dwelt in Montanus and the Prophetesses. At intervals, throughout the annals of Christianity, the Holy Ghost has been summoned by the hopes, felt as present by the kindled imaginations, been proclaimed by the passionate enthusiasm of a few, as accomplishing in them the imperfect revelation; as the third revelation—which is to supersede and to fulfil the Law and the Gospel. This notion will appear again in the middle ages as the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim, of John Peter de Oliva and the Fraticelli; in a milder form it is that of George Fox and Barclay. The land of heathen orgies was the natural birth-place of that wild Christian mysticism; it was the Phrygian fanaticism speaking a new language; and as the ancient Phrygian rites of Cybele found welcome reception in heathen Rome, so also that, which was appropriately called Cataphrygianism, in the Christian Church.[s] A stern intolerant asceticism, which had already begun to harden around the Christian heart, a rigour, a perfection of manners as of creed, so they deemed it, beyond the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, distinguished the Montanists, who, by their own asserted superiority, condemned the rest of the Christian world.[t] They had fasts far more long and severe, their own festivals, their own food, chiefly roots;[u] they held the austerest views on the connexion of the sexes; if they did not

[q] Their fate was so obscure, that rumours spread abroad among their enemies that they had died like Judas, had hanged themselves. See the uncertain author quoted by Eusebius. H. E. v. 16.

[r] This we learn from the Refutatio Hæresium. *ὧν βίβλους ἀπείρους ἔχοντες πλανῶνται*, p. 275.

[s] Compare the Super alta vectus Atys with the extravagancies of Montanism.

[t] *πλεῖον δὲ αὐτῶν φάσκοντες ὡς μεμαθηκέναι, ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων.* Ibid. p. 275.

[u] The author of the Refutatio speaks of their *ξηροφάγια*.

absolutely condemn, hardly permitted marriage; a second marriage was an inexpiable sin. Their visions enwrapt the imagination, their rigour enthralled minds of congenial temperament. They seized on the African passions, they fell in with the austerity, they satisfied the holy ambition of Tertullian, who would not rest below what seemed the most lofty, self-sacrificing Christianity. In Rome itself (so Tertullian writes, with mingled indignation and contempt) the Bishop had been seized with admiration, had acknowledged the inspiration of the Prophets; he had issued letters of peace in their favour, which had tended to quiet the agitated churches of Asia and of Phrygia. But at the instigation of Praxeas the Heresiarch, if not the author, among the first teachers of that doctrine, afterwards denounced as Patripassianism, he had revoked his letters, denied their spiritual gifts, and driven out the Prophets in disgrace.[x]

The indignation of Tertullian at the rejection of his Montanist opinions urges him to arraign the Pope, with what justice, to what extent we know not, as having embraced the Patripassian opinions of Praxeas. This Monarchianism, or, as it was branded by the more odious name, Patripassianism, was the controversy which raged during the episcopate of Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus.[y] It called forth the 'Refutation of Heresies.' That paramount doctrine of Christianity, the nature of Christ, his relation to the primal and paternal Godhead, which had been contested in a vaguer and more imaginative form under the Gnostic systems, must be brought to a direct issue. Rome, though the war was

Monarchianism.

[x] Ita duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit et hæresim intulit. Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. Adversus Praxeam, c. i. Who was this bishop of Rome? It has been usually supposed Victor. Neander (Anti-Gnosticus, p. 486) argues strongly, I think not conclusively, that it was his predecessor Eleutherius. The spurious passage, at the close of the De Præscrip. Hæret., which, though not Tertullian's, seems ancient, has these words:—"Praxeas quidem hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus (the Bishop Victor?) corroborare curavit."

[y] The oppugnancy of the Latin and Greek mind is well illustrated by the contrast of Tertullian with the early Greek writers, *e. g.* Justin Martyr. In Tertullian there is no courteous respect for the Greek philosophy: he is dead to the beauty of the dying hours of Socrates; his Dæmon is a devil. "No man comes to God but by Christ; of these things the heathen knew nothing." T. de Anim. i. 39. Compare Ritter, Gesch. Christ. Philosophie, p. 335. Tertullian cannot conceive immaterial being. Nihil incorporale quod non est. De Carn. Christ. Neander, iii. p. 965.

waged by Greek combatants in the Greek language, must be the chosen battle-field of the conflict. There was division in the Church. Pope Victor, a stern and haughty Prelate, who had demanded implicit submission to his opinions on the question of Easter, now seemed stunned and bewildered by the polemic din and tumult.[x] The feebler Zephyrinus, through his long pontificate, vacillated and wavered to and fro. Callistus, if we are to believe his implacable and uncompromising adversary, not only departed from the true faith, but left a sect, bearing his name, to perpetuate his reprehensible opinions.

About A.D. 150.

From Theodotus, a follower of Valentinus, to Noetus and his disciple Epigonus, there was a constant succession of strangers, each with his own system.

About A.D. 200-220.

The shades of distinction were infinite, from that older Ebionitish or Judaïc doctrine, which kept down the Saviour to mere naked manhood, hardly superior to the prophets; and that which approximated to, if it did not express in absolute terms, the full Godhead of the Nicene Creed. The broad divisions, up to a certain period, had been threefold: 1. Those who altogether denied the Godhead—the extreme Ebionites. 2. Those who denied the Manhood—all the Gnostic sects. In their diverging forms of Docetism, these held the unreal, or but seeming human nature of the Redeemer; whether, as Valentinus said, the Æon Christ had descended on the man Jesus, the psychic or animal man; or as Marcion, maintained the manhood to be a mere phantasm. 3. All the rest (even the Roman Ebionites, represented by the Clementine Homilies) acknowledged some Deity, some efflux,

[x] Victor condemned indeed and excommunicated Theodotus, who reduced the Saviour to his naked manhood; he was but an image of Melchisedek. This was asserted fifty years later, when the doctrine of the naked manhood of Christ was taught in its most obnoxious form by Artemas, and afterwards by Paul of Samosata. These teachers appealed to the unbroken tradition of the church, from the Apostles to their own days, in favour of their own tenet. It was answered that Victor had condemned Theodotus, the author of this God-denying apostacy; ὅτι Βίκτωρ τὸν σκυτέα Θεοδότον, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν. Euseb. H. E. v. 15, Epiphan. 54, 55. Compare Pseudo-Tertullian de Præscrip. Hæret. On the Theodoti, compare Bunsen, Hippolytus, p. 92. Yet Victor, it should seem, was deceived by Praxeas (see note above). Florinus, condemned with Blastus the Quartodeciman, was a Monarchian; but there were manifestly many shades of Monarchianism.

eradiation, emanation of the primal Godhead. The Logos, the Wisdom, the Spirit of God (the distinction was not always maintained, nor as yet accurately defined) indwelt in various manners and degrees within the Christ. The difficulty was to claim the plenary Godhead for the Son, the Redeemer, without infringing on the sole, original Principality of the Father; to admit subordination without inferiority. So grew up a new division between the Monarchians, the assertors of one immutable primary Principle, who yet acknowledged the divinity of the Redeemer; and those who, while they mostly acknowledged in terms, were impatient of any real or definite subordination. Each drew an awful conclusion from the tenets of his adversary; each used an opprobrious term which appealed to the resentful passions. The Monarchians were charged with the appalling doctrine, that the Father, the one primary Principle, must have suffered on the cross; they were called Patripassians. They retorted on those who were unable, or who refused to define the subordination of the Son, as worshippers of two Gods, Ditheists. Sabellius, who at first repressed, or brought forward his views with reserve and caution, attempted to mediate, and was disdainfully cast aside by both parties. The notion of the same God under three manifestations, forms, or names, seemed to annul the separate personality of each.[r]

Pope Victor saw but the beginning of this strife. With Pope Zephyrinus, whose Episcopate of nineteen years commences with the third century, appears his antagonist, the antagonist of his successor Callistus, the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. According to his own distinct statement, this writer was not a casual and transient visitor in Rome, but domiciled in the city or in its neighbourhood, invested in some high public function,[s] and holding acknowledged influence and authority.

A.D. 201-219.

[r] Sabellius, according to the Refutation of Heresies, might have been kept within the bounds of orthodoxy, had he not been driven into extremes by the injudicious violence of the Pope.

[s] Origen visited Rome about the year 211, but his visit was not long; and, with all his fame and learning, to the height of which he had not attained, he was a stranger, without rank or authority. He was not even in orders.

He describes himself as the head of what may be called the orthodox party, resisting and condemning the wavering policy of one Pope, actually excommunicating another, and handing him down to posterity as an heresiarch of a sect called after his name. Who then was this antagonist? What rank and position did he hold?[t] Fifty years later the Roman church comprehended, besides its Bishop, forty-six Presbyters, and seven Deacons,[u] with their subordinate officers. Each Presbyter doubtless presided over a separate community, each with its basilica, scattered over the wide circuit of the city: they were the primary Parish Priests of Rome. But besides these, were Suburbicarian Bishops of the adjacent towns, Ostia, Tibur, Porto, and others (six or seven), who did not maintain their absolute independence on the metropolis, each in the seclusion of his own community; they held their synods in Rome, but as yet with Greek equality rather than Roman subordination; they were the initiatory College of Cardinals (who still take some of their titles from these sees), but with the Pope as one of this co-equal college, rather than the dominant, certainly not the despotic, head.

A.D. 201-250.

Of all these suburban districts at this time Portus was the most considerable, and most likely to be occupied by a distinguished prelate. Portus, from the reign of Trajan, had superseded Ostia as the haven of Rome. It was a commercial town of growing extent and opulence, at which most of the strangers from the East who came by sea landed or set sail. Through Portus, no doubt, most of the foreign Christians found their way to Rome.[x] Of this city at the present time, it can hardly be doubted, Hippolytus was the bishop, Hippolytus who afterwards rose to the dignity of saint and martyr, and whose statue, discovered in the Laurentian cemetery, now stands in the Vatican. Conclusive internal evidence indicates Hippolytus as the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. If any one

Hippolytus.

[t] Calculating from the accession of Zephyrinus to the Decian persecution. Letter of Pope Cornelius in Euseb. H. E. vi. 42.

[u] Each deacon appears to have comprehended under his charitable superintendence two out of the fourteen regions of the city.

[x] In the letters of Æneas Sylvius there is a curious account of a visit which he made to the site of this ancient bishopric, then held by one of his friends. Dr. Wordsworth has some interesting details concerning Portus.

might dare to confront the Bishop of Rome, it was the Bishop of Portus.

Zephyrinus, according to his unsparing adversary, was an unlearned man; ignorant of the language and definitions of the Church; avaricious, venal, of unsettled principles; not holding the balance between conflicting opinions, but embracing adverse tenets with all the zeal, of which a mind so irresolute was capable. He was now a disciple of Cleomenes, the successor of Noetus, and teacher of Noetianism in Rome (Noetus held the extreme Monarchian doctrine, so as to be obnoxious to the charge of Patripassianism), now of Sabellius, who, become more bold, had matured his scheme, which was odious alike to the other two contending parties. Zephyrinus was entirely governed by the crafty Callistus; and thus constantly driven back by his fears, or confusion of mind, to opposite tenets, and involved in the most glaring contradictions. At one time he publicly used the startling language: "I acknowledge one God, Jesus Christ, and none beside him, that was born and suffered;" at another, he refuted himself, "It was not the Father that died, but the Son." So through the long episcopate of Zephyrinus there was endless conflict and confusion. The author of the Refutation steadily, perseveringly, resisted the vacillating Pontiff, he himself was branded with the opprobrious appellation of Ditheist. Pope Zephyrinus. 202-219.

Callistus, who had ruled the feeble mind of Zephyrinus, aspired to be his successor; as head, it should seem, of one of the contending parties, he attained the object of his ambition. The memory of theologic adversaries is tenacious. His enemies were not likely to forget the early life of Callistus, which must have been public and notorious, at least among the Christians. He had been a slave in the family of Carpophorus, a wealthy Christian, in the Emperor's household. He was set up by his master in a bank in the quarter called the Piscina Publica. The Christian brethren and widows, on the credit of the name of Carpophorus, deposited their savings in this bank of Callistus. He made away with the funds, was called to account, fled, embarked on board a ship, was pursued, threw him- Callistus Pope. 219-223.

self into the sea—was rescued—brought back to Rome, and ignominiously consigned to hard labour in the public workhouse. The merciful Carpophorus cared not for his own losses, but for those of the poor widows; he released the prisoner on the pretext of collecting monies, which he pretended to be due to him. Callistus raised a riot in a Jewish synagogue, was carried before the Prefect Fuscianus, scourged and transported to the mines in Sardinia. On the release of the exiles through the intercession of Marcia, Callistus, though not on the list furnished by the Bishop Victor, persuaded Hyacinthus, the Eunuch appointed to bear the order for the release of the captives to the governor, to become responsible for his liberation also.[y] He returned to Rome; the Pope Victor, though distressed by the affair, was too merciful to expose the fraud; Callistus was sent to Antium with a monthly allowance for his maintenance. At Antium (for this release of the Sardinian prisoners must have been at the commencement of Victor's episcopate)[z] he remained nine or ten years. Zephyrinus recalled him from his obscure retreat; and placed him over the cemetery.[a] By degrees the Pope entirely surrendered himself to the guidance of Callistus.

[y] This singular picture of Roman and Christian middle life has an air of minute truthfulness, though possibly somewhat darkened by polemic hostility. Some have supposed that they detect a difference in the style from the rest of the treatise. I perceive none but that which is natural in a transition from polemic or argumentative writing to simple narrative. The suggestion that it is a Novatian interpolation is desperate and preposterous. Novatian was not heard of till thirty years after, his followers, of course, later. What possible motive could they have for blackening the memory of Zephyrinus and Callistus? Novatian was no enemy of the Bishop of Rome; had no design to invalidate his powers. He was the enemy of Cornelius, his successful rival for the see; he aspired himself to be bishop—was, in fact, anti-Pope. The great point on which Novatian made his stand had, indeed, been mooted, but did not become a cause of fatal division till after the persecution of Decius, the treatment of the Lapsi—those who in the persecution had denied the faith.

Hippolytus, it is true, in the poetic legend of Prudentius (who borrows the circumstances of his martyrdom from the destiny of his namesake in the tragedy of Euripides), is charged with holding the tenets of Novatus, which he recanted, and in his death-agony became a good Catholic. But the author of the Refutation of all Heresies can hardly have been involved in the schism of Novatian, who did not appear till so many years after the death of Callistus. Novatian, with such a partisan, would not have sought out three obscure bishops for his ordination. I cannot but think the Spanish legendary poet of the fourth century utterly without historical authority,—possibly he confounded different Hippolyti.

[z] The release of the prisoners took place probably in the tenth year of Commodus, the year of Victor's accession, A.D. 190.

[a] We are naturally reminded of the cemetery called of Callistus. Aringhi supposes this cemetery older than the time of Callistus.

The first act of Callistus on his advancement to the bishopric was the excommunication of Sabellius, an act cordially approved by Hippolytus, and ascribed to the fear of himself. Callistus formed a new scheme, by which he hoped to elude the charge on one side of Patripassianism, on the other of Ditheism. Hippolytus denounces his heresy without scruple or reserve.[b]

Christian doctrine, the profound mystery of the Saviour's Godhead, was not the only subject of collision between the adverse parties in the Church of Rome. The difficult reconciliation of Christian tenderness and Christian holiness could hardly fail to produce a milder and more austere party throughout Christendom. The first young influences of Monachism, the perfection claimed by celibacy over the less ostentatious virtue of domestic purity, the notion of the heroism of self-mortification, led to inevitable differences. Montanism, with its fanatic rigour, had wrought up this strife to a great height. The more severe, who did not embrace the Montanist tenets, would not be surpassed by heretics in self-abnegation. The lenity to be shown to penitents, the condescension to the weaknesses of flesh and blood, raised perpetual disputes. Callistus throughout, unlike those whose early lives demand indulgence, who are usually the most severe, was himself indulgent to others; and this was the dominant tone at the time in the Roman Church. The author of the Refutation, though uninfected by Montanist tenets, inveighs against the leniency of Callistus, as asserting that even a bishop, guilty of a deadly sin, was not to be deposed. The nature of this, according to Hippolytus, deadly sin, which Callistus treated with such offensive tenderness, appears from the next sentence:[c] it related to that grave question which had begun to absorb the Christian mind—the marriage of the clergy. That usage, which has always prevailed, and still prevails, in the Greek Church, as yet seems to have satisfied the more rigorous at Rome. Those who were already

Controversy on Christian morals.

[b] Callistianism differed but slightly from Noetism. God and his divine Word were one: together they were the Spirit, the one Spiritual Being. This Spirit took flesh of the Virgin; so the Father was in the Son, but he suffered not as the Son, but with the Son.

[c] οὗτος ἐδογμάτισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, μὴ δεῖν καταστέλεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρίγαμοι καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίη, μένειν τον τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ ἡμαρτήκοτα. ix. 12. p. 290.

married when ordained, retained their wives. But a second marriage, or marriage after ordination, was revolting to the incipient monkery of the Church. But Callistus, according to his implacable adversary, went further, he admitted men who had been twice, even thrice married, to holy orders; he allowed those already in orders to marry. His more indulgent party appealed to the evangelical argument,[d] "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" They alleged the parables of the tares and wheat, the clean and unclean beasts in the ark. This the more austere denounced as criminal flattery of the passions of the multitude; as the sanction of voluptuousness proscribed by Christ, with the base design of courting popularity, and swelling the ranks of their faction. There is a heavier charge behind. The widows, if they could not contain, were not only allowed to marry, but to take a slave, or freedman, below their own rank, who could not be their legal husband.[e] Hence abortions, and child murders, to conceal these disgraceful connexions. Callistus, therefore, is sanctioning adultery and murder. But even this is not the height of his offence, he had dared to administer a second baptism. So already had ecclesiastical offences become worse in the estimation of vehement religious partisans than moral enormities. Here, at least, it is fair to mistrust the angry adversary. But this conflict between a more indulgent and a more austere party in Rome, and some declaration of the Pope Zephyrinus, probably, rather than Callistus,—but Zephyrinus acting under the influence of Callistus—on the connexion between the sexes, had already excited the indignation of Tertullian in Africa, now still more hardened by his Montanist tenets. "The Bishop of Bishops had promulgated an edict, that he would remit to penitents even the sins of adultery and fornication. This license to lust is issued in the stronghold of all wicked and shameless lusts."[f]

[d] R. H. p. 290.

[e] The widows, who had taken on themselves the office of deaconesses, and who, though not bound by vow, were under a kind of virtual engagement against second marriage.

[f] De Pudicitia.—Did the title Episcopus Episcoporum, which I think cannot but mean Rome, arise from his superiority to the suburbicarian bishops? See, however, on this title the note of Baluzius on the vii. Concil. Carthag. —or in Routh, ii. 153.

Persecution restored that peace to the Roman Church, which had been so much disturbed throughout her uninvaded prosperity, during the tolerant rule of Alexander Severus. In the sudden outburst of hostility, during the short reign of the brutal Thracian Maximin, Pontianus, who had followed Urban I., the successor of A.D. 235. Callistus, and with him a presbyter, Hippolytus, suffered sentence of deportation to the usual place of exile—Sardinia. There Pontianus is said (nor is there much reason to doubt the tradition) to have endured martyrdom. Hippolytus,[g] according to the poetic legend in Prudentius of two centuries later, suffered in the suburbs of Rome.[h]

The Decian persecution, about thirty years after the death of Callistus, was the birth epoch of Latin Christianity; Cyprian its true parent. Rome, the recognised metropolis of the West, Carthage, the metropolis of the African churches, are in constant and regular intercourse.[i] There is first a Punic league, afterwards at least a threatened Punic war. In the persecution the churches are brought into close alliance by common sympathies, common perils, common sufferings, singularly enough by common schisms; slowly, but no doubt at length, by their common language. The same Imperial edict endangers the life of the Roman and of the Carthaginian Bishop; malcontents from Rome find their way to Carthage, from Carthage to Rome. The same man, Novatus, stirs up rebellion against episcopal authority in Rome and in Carthage; the letters of the churches to each other are promulgated in Latin, though at a period somewhat later those from the African churches sent into the East are distinguished from those which came from Rome, as written in the Roman tongue.[k] So too in Rome and in Carthage (in Carthage in the most

Decian persecution.

[g] Compare Bunsen. The title of Presbyter assigned to Hippolytus, if, as is most probable, the same with the author of the Refutation and other works, even if he were Bishop of Porto, raises no difficulty. These bishops were members of the Roman Presbytery.

[h] At this time, more likely than fifteen years afterwards, in the Decian persecution. Legend respects no dates.

[i] The intercourse between Carthage and Rome, on account of the corn trade alone, was probably more regular and rapid than with any other part of the empire — mutatis mutandis — like that between Marseilles and Algeria.

[k] Euseb., H. E. See above.

mature and perfect form, from the master mind of Cyprian) appear the Roman strength and the Roman respect for law, the imperious assertion of hierarchical despotism. In the community there is trembling deference for hierarchical authority, though at first with a bold but short resistance. There is an anti-Bishop in Rome and in Carthage. But in both Churches discipline becomes of equal importance with doctrine; the unity of the Church is made to depend on obedience to its outward polity; rebellion to episcopal authority becomes as great a crime as erroneous opinion; schism as hateful as heresy.

Fabianus of Rome. A.D. 249.

Fabianus, under Decius, is the first martyr Bishop of Rome, whose death rests on certain testimony.[m] The papal chair remained vacant for a short time; either the Christians dared not choose, or no one dared to assume the perilous rank. Cyprian of Carthage on the same occasion, not from timidity, but from prudent and parental regard for his flock, retired into a safe retreat. There were already divisions in the Church of Carthage. Novatus, a turbulent presbyter, with five others,[n] had been jealous of the elevation of Cyprian. Novatus, whose character is darkly drawn by Cyprian, had presumed to interfere with the bishop's prerogative, a crime hardly less heinous than peculation and licentiousness, and himself ordained a deacon, Felicissimus. This hostile party would no doubt heap contempt on the base flight of Cyprian; while they, less in danger, seemed to have remained to brave the persecutor. The party took upon themselves the episcopal functions.[o] On their own authority, too, the faction of Novatus determined, in the more lenient way, the great question, the reception of the fallen, those who had denied the faith and offered sacrifice, and those who, with more pardonable weakness, had bought certificates of submission from the venal officers.[p]

Cyprian of Carthage.

Novatus.

[m] Perhaps that of Pontianus may be above suspicion. (See above.)

[n] It is doubtful whether Novatus was one of these five.

[o] Cyprian, from his retreat, sent two bishops to collect and administer the alms, probably of great amount, in Carthage. Walch conjectures, with much probability, that Felicissimus may have resented this intrusion on his province as Deacon.

[p] They were called Libellatici. Compare Mosheim de Reb. Christian. ante Constant. M., p. 482, 489.

Cyprian in vain remonstrated from his retreat: he too had somewhat departed from his old sternness, when he had shut the doors of the Church against the renegades. He was not now for inflexible and peremptory rejection of those weak brethren, for whom he may have learned some sympathy; he insisted only on their less hasty, more formal reception, after penance, confession, imposition of hands by the bishop. Each case was to be separately considered before an assembly of the bishops, presbyters, deacons, the faithful who had stood,[q] and the laity; so popular still was Cyprian's view of episcopal authority. Cornelius, in Rome, had been elected bishop on the return of peace. The same question distracted his Church, but with more disastrous results. The same Novatus was now in Rome: true only to his own restlessness, he here embraced the severer party, at the head of which stood a leader, by some strange coincidence, almost of the same name with his own, Novatian.[r] This man had been a Stoic philosopher. His hard nature, in the agony of wrestling after truth, before he had found peace in Christianity, broke down both body and mind. His enemies afterwards declared that he had been possessed, the demon was not completely exorcised. He had only received what was called Clinic baptism (an imperfect rite) on what was supposed his death-bed. The Stoic remained within the Christian; he became a rigid ascetic. Novatian sternly declared that no mercy but that of God (from that he did not exclude them) could absolve from the inexpiable sin of apostacy: the Church, which received such unabsolvable sinners into its bosom, was unclean, and ceased to be the Church. Novatian might have contented himself, like the Thraseas of old, with protesting against the abuse of episcopal despotism, no less abuse because it erred on the side of leniency. When charged with ambitious designs on the Bishopric of Rome, of having

Cornelius Bishop of Rome.

Novatian.

[q] Throughout this is his language—Viderint laici, hoc quomodo curent. Ep. liii., also xi. xxix. xxxi. Compare Concil. Carthag. iii., where it is among the objections that a fallen had been received sine petitu et conscientia plebis. Mansi sub ann. 252, or Routh, vol. ii. p. 74.

[r] The Greek writers all called Novatian, Novatus. We are on historical ground, or what a myth might be made out of these two *Innovators!*—Novatus and Novatian.

been the rival, and therefore having become the enemy, of Cornelius, he solemnly declared that he preferred the solitary virtue and dignity of the ascetic, it was only by compulsion that he took upon himself the function of an Antipope. Cyprian attributes the schism to the malignant influence of Novatus:—"In proportion as Rome is greater than Carthage, so was the sin of Novatus in Rome more heinous than that in Carthage. In Carthage he had ordained a deacon, in Rome he had made a bishop."[s] Novatian was publicly but hastily and irregularly consecrated, as Bishop of Rome, by three bishops, it is said, of obscure towns in Italy. Novatian was in doctrine rigidly orthodox; but in Cyprian's view (who makes common cause with the Bishop of Rome against the common enemy) what avails orthodoxy of doctrine in one out of the Church?[t] He is self-excluded from the pale of salvation. Cyprian had grounds, if not for his abhorrence, for his fears of Novatianism. It aspired itself to be the Church, to set up rival bishops throughout Christendom; the test of that Church was this uncompromising, inflexible severity. Even in Carthage arose another bishop, Fortunatus, who asserted himself to have been consecrated by twenty-three Numidian bishops. Cyprian, not without bitterness, while he admits that Cornelius had rejected his rebellious Deacon Felicissimus from communion, complains that he had been weakly shaken, and induced to waver, by the false representations of the partisans of Fortunatus.[u] This transient difference was soon lost in Cyprian's generous admiration for the intrepidity of Cornelius, in whose glorious Confession the whole Church of Rome, even the fallen, who had been admitted as penitents, now nobly joined. Cornelius was banished, it is said, by the

[s] Planè quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat illic episcopum fecit. Epist. xlix. The pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome arises out of the pre-eminent greatness of Rome.

[t] Quod vero ad Novatiani personam pertinet, pater carissime, desiderâsti tibi scribi quam hæresin introduxisset, scias nos primo in loco non curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Quisquis ille est, et qualiscunque est, Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesiâ non est. Ad Anton. Epist. lii.

[u] Read the whole remarkable letter, lv. ad Cornelium—the strongest revelation of the views, reasonings, passions, fears, hatreds of Cyprian. I cannot consent, with a late writer, to the abandonment of all these documents as spurious.

Emperor Gallus, to Civita Vecchia; he was followed by vast numbers of believers, who shared his exile and his danger. The Church returned from banishment, but under a new bishop, Lucius; Cornelius had died, the words of Cyprian hardly assert by a violent death.[x] The Novatians alone, during this new trial of the faith, stood aloof in sullen hostility. They were too obscure, A.D. 253. Cyprian suggests, to provoke the jealousy of the rulers. But Cyprian miscalculated the strength and vitality of Novatianism. It spread throughout Christendom: even in the East, Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, was hardly restrained from joining that party. Dionysius of Alexandria treated their advances with greater wisdom; he earnestly urged Novatian, now that Cornelius was dead and the question laid almost at rest by the cessation of persecution, to return into the bosom of the Church. On Novatian's stubborn refusal, he condemned in strong terms his harsh Christianity, as depriving the Saviour of his sacred attribute of mercy. But Novatianism endured for above two centuries; it had its bishops in Constantinople, Nice, Nicomedia, Citiæus in Phrygia, in Cyzicum and Bithynia; even in Alexandria, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain. It had its saints, its hermits, its monks. St. Ambrose in Italy, Pacianus, Bishop of Barcelona, and towards the end of the fourth century Leo the Great, thought it necessary to condemn or to refute the doctrines of Novatian. The two Byzantine ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and his follower Sozomen, have been accused of leaning to Novatianism.[y]

Cyprian's unity of the Church.

Novatianism, like all unsuccessful opposition, added strength to its triumphant adversary. It was not so much by its rigour, as by its collision with the Hierarchical system, that it lost its hold on the Christian mind. It declared that there were sins beyond the absolving power of the clergy. By setting up rival bishops in Rome, Carthage, and other cities, it only evoked more commandingly the growing theory of Christian unity, and

[x] Epist. ad Lucium P. R. reversum ab exilio—lviii. See, however, Epist. lxviii. —He is described as martyrio quoque dignatione Domini honoratus. Compare Routh's note, ii. 132.

[y] Compare Walch Ketzer-Geschichte. Walch has collected every passage relating to Novatianism with his usual industry, accuracy, and fairness, ii. pp. 185, 288.

caused it to be asserted in a still more rigid and exclusive form. Within the pale of the Church, under the lawful Bishop, were Christ and salvation; without it, the realm of the Devil, the world of perdition. The faith of the heretic and schismatic was no faith, his holiness no holiness, his martyrdom no martyrdom.[z] Latin Christianity, in the mind of Cyprian, if not its founder, its chief hierophant, had soared to the ideal height of this unity. This Utopia of Cyprian placed St. Peter at the head of the College of co-equal Apostles, from whom the Bishops inherited co-equal dignity. The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now, near 200 years after his death, an accredited tradition. Nor, so long as Carthage and Rome were in amity and alliance, did Cyprian scruple to admit (as Carthage could not but own her inferiority to Imperial Rome) a kind of primacy, of dignity at least, in the Metropolitan Bishop.[a]

Dispute between Rome and Carthage.

The Punic league suddenly gives place to a Punic war. A new controversy has sprung up in the interval between the Decian and Valerian persecutions, on the re-baptism of heretics. Africa, the East, Alexandria with less decision, declared the baptism by heretics an idle ceremony, and even an impious mimicry of that holy rite, which could only be valid from the conse-
A.D. 255. crated hands of the lawful clergy. Lucius of Rome had ruled but a few months: he was succeeded by Stephen. This pope adopted a milder rule. Every baptism in the name of Christ admitted to Christian privileges. He enforced this rule, according to his adversaries (his own letters are lost), with imperious dictation. At length he broke off communion with all the churches of the East, and of Africa, which adhered to the more rigorous prac-

[z] The second Council of Carthage touches on this absolving power of the priesthood — "Quando permiserit ipse, qui legem dedit ut ligati in terris etiam in cælis ligati essent, solvi autem possent illa quæ hic prius in ecclesiâ solverentur." The decree of this Council anticipates another instant persecution, and urges, with great force and beauty, the necessity of strengthening all disciples against the coming trial—quos excitámus et hortamur ad prœlium non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione corporis et sanguinis Christi muniamus. Mansi, sub ann. 252, or Routh, Rel. Sacræ, v. iii. p. 70.

[a] Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris et potestatis: sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. De unit. Eccles. Compare the whole passage.

tice.[b] But the Eastern hatred of heresy conspired with the hierarchical spirit of Africa, which could endure no intrusion on the prerogatives of the clergy. Cyprian confronts Stephen not only as an equal, but, strong in the concurrence of the East and of Alexandria, as his superior. The primacy of Peter has lost its authority. He condemns the perverseness, obstinacy, contumacy of Stephen. He promulgates, in Latin, a letter of Firmilian, Bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, still more unmeasured in its censures. Firmilian denounces the audacity, the insolence of Stephen; scoffs at his boasted descent from St. Peter; declares that, by his sin, he has excommunicated himself: he is the schismatic, the apostate from the unity of the Church.[c] A solemn Council of eighty-seven bishops, assembled at Carthage under Cyprian, asserted the independent judgment of the African Churches, repudiated the assumption of the title Bishop of Bishops, or the arbitrary dictation of one bishop to Christendom.

Yet even during this internal feud, Latin Christendom was gathering into a separate unity. The Churches of Gaul and Spain appeal at once to Rome and to Carthage; Arles, indeed, in southern Gaul, may still have been Greek. But the high character of Cyprian, and the flourishing state of the African Churches, combined with their Latinity to endow them with this concurrent primacy in the West. Martianus, Bishop of Arles, had embraced Novatianism in all its rigour. The oppressed anti-Novatian party sent to Carthage as well as to Rome, to entreat their aid. Cyprian appears to acknowledge the superior right in the Bishop of Rome to appoint a substitute for the rebellious Novatianist. He urges Pope Stephen, by the memory of his martyred predecessors Cornelius and Lucius, not to shrink from this act of necessary rigour.[d] This,

[b] He denounced Cyprian, according to Firmilian, as a false Christ, a false apostle, a deceitful workman. Firm. Epist. apud Cyprian. Opera.

[c] Excidisti enim temet ipsum; noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est verè schismaticus, qui se a communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Firm. ad Cyprian. I see no ground to doubt, with *some* Roman Catholic writers, the authenticity of this letter. No doubt it is a translation from the Greek; if by Cyprian himself, it accounts for the sameness of style A Donatist forgery would have been in a different tone, and directed against different persons. Compare Walch Ketzer-Geschichte, ii. 323, *et seqq.* Routh, note ii. p. 151.

[d] A.D. 256. Apud Mansi, sub ann. or Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. p. 91.

however, was but a letter from one bishop to another, from Cyprian of Carthage, to Stephen of Rome.[e] The answer to the Bishops of Spain is the formal act of a synod of African Bishops, assembled under the presidency of the Bishop of Carthage. It is a Latin religious state paper, addressed by one part of Latin Christendom to the rest.[f] The Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martialis, of Leon and Astorga, had, during the Decian persecution, denied the faith, offered sacrifice, according to the language of the day, returned to wallow in the mire of paganism. Yet they had dared to resume, not merely their privileges as Christians, but the holy office of bishops. Whatever leniency might be shown to humbler penitents, that the immaculate priesthood should not be irrevocably forfeited by such defilement, revolted not only the more severe, but the general sentiment. Two other bishops, Felix and Sabinus, were consecrated in their place.[g] Basilides found his way to Rome, and imposed by his arts on the unsuspecting Stephen, who commanded his reinstatement in his high office. Appeal was made to Carthage against Rome. Cyprian would strengthen his own authority by that of a synod. At the head of his thirty-five bishops, Cyprian approves the acts of the Presbyters and people of Leon and Astorga in rejecting such unworthy bishops; treats with a kind of respectful compassion the weakness of Stephen of Rome, who had been so easily abused; and exhorts the Spaniards to adhere to their rightful prelates, Felix and Sabinus.[g]

The persecution of Valerian joined the Bishops of Rome and of Carthage, Xystus the successor of Stephen, and the famous Cyprian, in the same glorious martyrdom.[h]

Dionysius, a Calabrian, is again a Greek Bishop of Rome, mingling with something of congenial zeal, and in the Greek language, in the controversies of Greek Alexandria, and condemning the errors of the Bishop of the same name, who had the evil report of having been the predecessor of Arius in doctrine. Dionysius, of Alexandria, however, a prelate of great virtue, it should seem, was but

A.D. 259.

[e] Cypriani Epist. lxvii.

[f] The Decrees of the Council of Carthage are the earliest Latin *public* documents.

[g] Cyprian. Epist. lxvii.

[h] On the martyrdom of Cyprian, Hist. of Christ. ii. 251.

incautiously betrayed into these doubtful expressions; at all events, he repudiated the conclusions drawn from his words. With all the more candid and charitable, he soon resumed his fame for orthodoxy. When the Emperor A.D. 276. Aurelian,[1] transferred the ecclesiastical judgment over Paul of Samosata, a rebel against the Empire as against the Church, from the Bishops of Syria to those of Rome and Italy, a subtle Greek heresy, maintained by Syrian Greeks, could not have been adjudicated but by Greeks or by Latins perfect masters of Greek. Dionysius, as Bishop of Rome, passed sentence in this important controversy.

Towards the close of this third century, throughout the persecution of Diocletian, darkness settles again over the Bishops of Rome. The apostacy of Marcellinus is but a late and discarded fable, adopted as favouring the Papal supremacy. Legend assembles three hundred Bishops at Sinuessa, three hundred Bishops peaceably debating at such times in a small Neapolitan town. This synod refused to take cognizance of the crime of St. Peter's successor. Marcellinus was forced to degrade himself. Marcellinus, A.D. 296.

The legend, that his successor, Marcellus, was reduced to the servile office of a groom, rests on no better authority. Had it any claim to truth, the successors of Marcellus had full and ample revenge, when kings and emperors submitted to the same menial service, and held the stirrup for the Popes to mount their horses. Marcellus, A.D. 304.

[1] Compare, on the act of Aurelianus, Hist. of Christ. ii. p. 257.

CHAPTER II.

ROME AFTER THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE.

Conversion of Constantine.

THUS, down to the conversion of Constantine, the biography of the Roman Bishops, and the history of the Roman Episcopate, are one; the acts and peculiar character of the Pontiffs, the influence and fortunes of the See, excepting in the doubtful and occasional gleams of light which have brought out Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus, Cornelius, Stephen, into more distinct personality, are involved in a dim and vague twilight. On the establishment of Christianity, as the religion if not of the Empire, of the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome rises at once to the rank of a great accredited functionary; the Bishops gradually, though still slowly, assume the life of individual character. The Bishop is the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city is legally Christian. The Supreme Pontificate of heathenism might still linger from ancient usage among the numerous titles of the Emperor; but so long as Constantine was in Rome, the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Emperor's religion, became in public estimation the equal, in authority and influence immeasurably the superior to all of sacerdotal rank. The schisms and factions of Christianity now become affairs of state. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome sits, by the imperial authority, at the head of a synod of Italian prelates, to judge the disputes with the African Donatists.

Melchiades. A.D. 312-314, Jan. 31. Silvester.

Melchiades held the See of Rome at the time of Constantine's conversion, but soon made room for Silvester, whose name is more inseparably connected with that great event. Silvester has become a kind of hero of religious fable. But it was not so much the genuine mythical spirit which unconsciously

transmutes history into legend; it was rather deliberate invention, with a specific aim and design, which, in direct defiance of history, accelerated the baptism of Constantine, and sanctified a porphyry vessel as appropriated to, or connected with, that holy use: and at a later period produced the monstrous fable of the Donation.[a] Melchiades Sylvester. A.D. 312-314. Jan. 31.

But that with which Constantine actually did invest the Church, the right of holding landed property, and receiving it by bequest, was far more valuable to the Christian Hierarchy, and of these not least to the Bishop of Rome, than a premature and prodigal endowment, which would at once have plunged them in civil affairs; and, before they had attained their strength, made them objects of jealousy or of rapacity to the temporal Sovereign. Had it been possible, a precipitate seizure, or a hasty acceptance of large territorial possessions would have been fatal to the dominion of the Church. It was the slow and imperceptible accumulation of wealth, the unmarked ascent to power and sovereignty, which enabled the Papacy to endure for centuries. Grant of Constantine.

The obscurity of the Bishops of Rome was not in this alone their strength. The earlier Pontiffs (Clement is hardly an exception) were men, who of themselves commanded no great authority, and awoke no jealousy. Rome had no Origen, no Athanasius, no Ambrose, no Augustine, no Jerome. The power of the Hierarchy was established by other master minds: by the Cartha- Roman Bishops obscure.

[a] This document—the Imperial Edict of Donation—a forgery as clumsy as audacious, ought to be inspected by those who would judge of the ignorance which could impose, or the credulity which would receive it, as the title-deed to enormous rights and possessions. (Muratori ascribes the forgery of the act to the period between 755 and 766.)—Palatium nostrum....et urbem Romam, et totius Italiæ, et occidentalium regionum provincias, loca, civitates.... prædicto beatissimo patri nostro Silvestro Catholico Papæ tradentes et cedentes hujus et successoribus, ejus Pontificatus potestate .... divino nostro hoc pragmatico decreto administrari diffinimus, juri sanctæ Romanorum ecclesiæ subjicienda et in eo permansura exhibemus. The Donation may be found, prefixed to Laurentius Valla's famous refutation. Read, too, the more guarded and reluctant surrender of Nicolas of Cusa, the feeble murmur of defence from Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, —apud Brown Fasciculus, p. 124. 161. Before the Reformation, the Donation had fallen the first victim of awakening religious inquiry. Dante, while he denounces, does not venture to question the truth of Constantine's gift. By the time of Ariosto it had become the object of unrebuked satire, even in Italy. Astolpho finds it among the chimæras of earth in the moon,

"or puzza forte.
Questo era il don (se però dir lice)
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece."
Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 80.

ginian Cyprian, by the Italian Ambrose, the Prelate of political weight as well as of austere piety, by the eloquent Chrysostom.[b] The names of none of the Popes, down to Leo and Gregory the Great, appear among the distinguished writers of Christendom.[c] This more cautious and retired dignity was no less favourable to their earlier power, than to their later claim of infallibility. If more stirring and ambitious men, they might have betrayed to the civil power the secret of their aspiring hopes; if they had been voluminous writers, in the more speculative times, before the Christian creed had assumed its definite and coherent form, it might have been more difficult to assert their unimpeachable orthodoxy.

Foundation of Constantinople.

The removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople consummated the separation of Greek and Latin Christianity; one took the dominion of the East, the other of the West. Greek Christianity has now another centre in the new capital; and the new capital has entered into those close relations with the great cities of the East, which had before belonged exclusively to Rome. Alexandria has become the granary of Constantinople; her Christianity and her commerce, instead of floating along the Mediterranean to Italy, pours up the Ægean to the city on the Bosphorus. The Syrian capitals, Antioch, Jerusalem, the cities of Asia Minor and Bithynia, Ephesus, Nicea, Nicomedia, own another mistress. The tide of Greek trade has ebbed away from the West, and found a nearer mart; political and religious ambition and adventure crowd to the new Eastern Court. That Court becomes the chosen scene of Christian controversy; the Emperor is the proselyte to gain whom contending parties employ argument, influence, intrigue.

Division of the empire.

That which was begun by the foundation of Constantinople, was completed by the partition of the empire between the sons of Constantine. There are now two Roman worlds, a Greek, and a Latin. In one re-

[b] Chrysostom's book on the Priesthood throughout.

[c] Early Christianity, it may be observed, cannot be justly estimated from its writers. The Greeks were mostly trained in the schools of philosophy—the Latin in the schools of rhetoric: and polemic treatises could not but form a great part of the earliest Christian literature.

spect, Rome lost in dignity, she was no longer the sole Metropolis of the empire; the East no longer treated her with the deference of a subject. On the other hand, she was the uncontested, unrivalled head of her own hemisphere; she had no rival in those provinces, which yet held her allegiance, either as to civil or religious supremacy. The separation of the empire was not more complete between the sons of Constantine or Theodosius, than between Greek and Latin Christianity.

Latin Christianity that of Rome.

In Rome itself Latin Christianity had long been in the ascendant. Greek had slowly and imperceptibly withdrawn from her services, her Scriptures, her controversial writings, the spirit of her Christianity. It is now in the person of Athanasius, a stranger hospitably welcomed, not a member at once received into her community. Great part of the three years, during which Athanasius resided in Rome, must be devoted to learning Latin, before he can obtain his full mastery over the mind of the Roman Pontiff, perhaps before he can fully initiate the Romans in the subtle distinctions of that great controversy.[d]

Of the West.

The whole West, Africa, Gaul, in which so soon as the religion spread beyond the Greek settlements, it found Latin, if not the vernacular, the dominant language (the native Celtic had been driven back into obscurity), Spain, what remained of Britain, formed a religious as well as a civil realm. In her Apostolical antiquity, in the dignity therefore of her Church, Rome stood as much alone and unapproachable among the young and undistinguished cities of the West, as in her civil majesty. After Cyprian, Carthage, until the days of Augustine, had sunk back into her secondary rank: Africa had been long rent to pieces by the Donatist schisms. Rome, therefore, might gather up her strength in quiet, before she committed herself in strife with any of her more formidable adversaries; and those adversaries were still weakening each other in the turmoils of unending controversy; so as to leave the almost undivided Unity of the West, an object of admiration and envy to the rest of Christendom.

[d] Gibbon, c. xxi. p. 360.

Trinitarian controversy.

For throughout the religious and civil wars, which almost simultaneously with the conversion of Constantine distracted the Christian world, the Bishops of Rome and the West stood aloof in unimpassioned equanimity; they were drawn into the Trinitarian controversy, rather than embarked in it by their own ardent zeal. So long as Greek Christianity predominated in Rome, so long had the Church been divided by Greek doctrinal controversy. There the earliest disputes about the divinity of the Saviour had found ready audience. But Latin Christianity, as it grew to predominance in Rome, seemed to shrink from these foreign questions, or rather to abandon them for others more congenial. The Quarto Deciman controversy related to the establishment of a common law of Christendom, as to the time of keeping her great Festival. So in Novatianism, the re-admission of apostates into the outward privileges of the Church, the kindred dispute concerning the re-baptism of heretics, were constitutional points, which related to the ecclesiastical polity. Donatism turned on the legitimate succession of the African Bishops.

The Trinitarian controversy was an Eastern question. It began in Alexandria, invaded the Syrian cities, was ready, from its foundation, to disturb the churches, and people the streets of Constantinople with contending factions. Until taken up by the fierce and busy heterodoxy of Constantius, when sole Emperor, it chiefly agitated the East. The Asiatic Nicea was the seat of the Council; all but a very few of the three hundred and twenty Bishops, who formed the Council, were from Asiatic or Egyptian sees. There were two Presbyters only to represent the Bishop of Rome;[e] the Bishop by his absence happily escaped the dangerous precedent, which might have been raised by his appearance in any rank, inferior to the Presidency. Besides these Presbyters, there were not above seven or eight Western Prelates. Hosius of Cordova, if, as some accounts state, he presided, did so as the favourite of the Emperor; if it may be so expressed, the Court divine.[f]

[e] τῆς δὲ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν πρόσωπος διὰ γῆρας ὑστέρει· πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ πάρεισις τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρωσαν. The expression "the royal city" is significant. Socrat. H. E., i. 8. The presbyters' names are reported, Vitus and Vincentius.

[f] Hosius is named by writers of the fifth century as the first among the

During the second period of the Trinitarian controversy, when the Arian Emperor of the East, Constantius, 2nd period. had made it a question which involved the whole world in strife; and, though it was not the cause of the fratricidal war between the sons of Constantine, yet no doubt it aggravated the hostility; Rome alone, except for a short time of compulsory submission, remained faithful to the cause of Athanasius. The great Athanasius himself, a second time an exile from the East,[g] the object of the Eastern Emperor's inveterate animosity, had found an hospitable reception at Rome. There, having acquired the knowledge of Latin, he laid the spell of his master-mind on the Pope Julius, and received the deferential homage of Latin Christianity, which accepted the creed, which its narrow and barren vocabulary could hardly express in adequate terms. Yet throughout, the adhesion of Rome and of the West was a passive acquiescence in the dogmatic system, which had been wrought out by the profounder theology of the Eastern divines, rather than a vigorous and original examination on her part of those mysteries. The Latin Church was the scholar, as well as the loyal partisan of Athanasius. New and unexpected power grew out of this firmness in the head of Latin Christianity, when so large a part of Eastern Christendom had fallen away into what was deemed apostacy. The orthodoxy of the West stood out in bold relief at the Council of Sardica.[h]

At this council, held under the protection, and within

bishops at Nicea to sign the decrees. (Gelas. Cyzicen. Act. Concil. sub ann. 325.) Theodoret assigns a kind of presidency to Eustathius of Antioch. In all the earlier accounts it is impossible to discern any president, certainly none when the emperor is present. Hosius, in later times, was taken up as the representative of the Bishop of Rome. Compare Shroeck. C. K. v. p. 335.

[g] On his first exile he had been received by the Emperor Constans at Treves.

[h] Even those Latin writers (for Latin Christianity could not altogether be silent on the controversy) who treated on the Trinity, rather set forth or explained to their flocks the orthodox doctrines determined in the East, than refuted native heresies, or proposed their own irrefragable judgment. Nor were the more important treatises written in the capital, or in the less barbarised Latin of Rome, but by Hilary, the Gallic bishop of Poitiers, in the rude and harsh Roman dialect of that province; and Hilary had been banished to the East, where he had become impregnated with the spirit, to his praise be it said, by no means with the acrimony of the strife. At the close of the controversy a Latin creed embodied the doctrines of Athanasius, and of the anti-Nestorian writers; but even this was not so much a work of controversy, as a final summary of Latin Christianity, as to the ultimate result of the whole. It is the creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius.

the realm of the orthodox Constans, the occupation of all the greater sees in the East by Arian, or semi-Arian prelates, the secession of the Eastern minority from the council, left Latin Christianity, as it were, the representative of Christendom. It assumed to itself the dignity and authority of a General Council, and it might seem that the suffrage of that Council awed the reluctant Constantius, and enforced the restoration of Athanasius to his see. By some happy fortune, by some policy prescient of future advantage, it might be unwillingness to risk his dignity at so great a distance from his own city, the trouble or expense of long journeys, or more important avocations at home, or the uncertainty that he would be allowed the place of honour, the Bishop of Rome (Julius I.) was absent from Sardica as from Nicea. Hosius of Cordova again presided in this assembly. Three Italian bishops append their signatures after that of Hosius, as representing the Roman Pontiff. Unconsciously the representatives of these times prepared the way for the Legates of future ages. Western Christendom might seem disposed to show its gratitude to Rome for its pure and consistent orthodoxy, by acknowledging a certain right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome from Illyricum and Macedonia. These provinces were still part of the empire of the West, and the decree might seem as if the Primacy of Rome was to be co-extensive with the Western Empire. The metropolitan power of Latin Christianity thus gathered two large provinces, mostly Greek in race and in language, under its jurisdiction. The bishops of Illyricum and Macedonia, in seeking a temporary protector, no doubt their immediate object, from the lawless tyranny of their Eastern and heterodox superiors, foresaw not that they were imposing on themselves a master who would never relax his claim to their implicit obedience.

A.D. 347. Council of Sardica.

Liberius, the successor of Julius I., had to endure the fiercer period of conflict with the Arian Emperor. Constantius was now sole master of the Roman world. From the councils of Arles and of Milan had been extorted by bribes, by threats, and by force, the condemnation of Athanasius. Liberius

Pope Liberius. A.D. 352, May 22. Council of Arles; A.D. 355.

had commenced his pontificate with an act of declared hostility to Athanasius. He had summoned the Prelate of Alexandria to Rome: he had declared him cut off from the communion of the West.[i] But if, from fear of Constantius, he had rejected Athanasius, he soon threw off his timidity: he as suddenly changed his policy as his opinions. He disclaimed his feeble Legate, the Bishop of Capua, who in his name had subscribed at Arles the sentence against the great Trinitarian. Himself, at length, after suffering menace, persecution, exile, was reduced so far to compromise his principles as to assent to that condemnation. Yet nothing could show more strongly the different place now occupied by the Bishop of Rome, in the estimation of Rome and of the world. Liberius is no martyr, calmly laying down his life for Christianity, inflexibly refusing to sacrifice on an heathen altar. He is a prelate, rejecting the summary commands of an heretical sovereign, treating his messages, his blandishments, his presents, with lofty disdain. The Arian Emperor of the world discerns the importance of attaching the Bishop of Rome to his party, in his mortal strife with Athanasius. His chief minister, the Eunuch Eusebius, appears in Rome to negotiate the alliance, bears with him rich presents, and a letter from the Emperor.[k] Liberius coldly answers that the Church of Rome having solemnly declared Athanasius guiltless, he could not condemn him. Nothing less than a Council of the Church, from which the Emperor, his officers, and all the Arian prelates shall be excluded, can reverse the decree. Eusebius threatens, but in vain; he lays down the Emperor's gifts in the Church of St. Peter. Liberius orders the infected offerings to be cast out of the sanctuary. He proceeds to utter a solemn anathema against all Arian heretics. Thus Roman liberty has found a new champion. The Bishop stands on what he holds to be the law of the Church; he is faithful to the Prelate, whose creed has been recognised as exclusive Christian truth by the Senate of Christendom.

Council of Milan, A.D. 355.

A.D. 356.

[i] Liberii Epistol. apud Hilar. Fragm. v.

[k] Athanas. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. p. 764, *et seqq.* Theodoret, H. E. ii. c. 15, 16. Sozomen, iv. c. 11. Ammian. Marcell. xv. c. 7.

He disfranchises all, even the Emperor himself, from the privileges of the Christian polity. Constantius, in his wrath, orders the seizure of his rebellious subject; but the Bishop of Rome is no longer at the head of a feeble community: he is respected, beloved by the whole city. All Rome is in commotion in defence of the Christian prelate. The city must be surrounded, and even then it is thought more prudent to apprehend Liberius by night, and to convey him secretly out of the city. He is sent to the Emperor at Milan. He appears before Constantius, with the aged Hosius of Cordova, and all the more distinguished orthodox prelates of the west, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, Hilary of Poitiers. He maintains the same lofty tone. Constantius declares that Athanasius has been condemned by a Council of the Church; he insists on the treason of Athanasius in corresponding with the enemies of the Emperor. Liberius is unshaken: "If he were the only friend of Athanasius, he would adhere to the righteous cause." The Bishop of Rome is banished to cold and inhospitable Thrace. He scornfully rejects offers of money, made by the Emperor for his expenses on the way. "Let him keep it to pay his soldiers." To the eunuch who made the like offer, he spoke with more bitter sarcasm. "Do you, who have wasted all the churches of the world, presume to offer me alms as a criminal? Away, first become a Christian!"[m]

Liberius at Milan.

Two years of exile in that barbarous region, the dread of worse than exile, perhaps disastrous news from Rome, at length broke the spirit of Liberius; he consented to sign the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and to renounce the communion of Athanasius.[n]

Fall of Liberius. A.D. 357.

For the Emperor had attempted to strike a still heavier blow against the rebellious exile. A rival bishop, as though the See were vacant, had usurped the throne. Felix was elected, it was said, by three eunuchs,

Felix Antipope.

[m] Athanas. Apolog. Contra Arian. p. 205. Ad Monach. p. 368. Theodoret ii. c. 16, 17.

[n] The jealousy of Felix, according to Baronius (sub ann. 357) was the Dalila which robbed the Episcopal Samson (Liberius) of his strength and fortitude.

who presumed to represent the people of Rome, and consecrated by three courtly prelates, two of them from the East. But the Clergy of Rome, and the people with still more determinate resolution, kept aloof from the empty churches, where Bishop Felix, if not himself an Arian, did not scruple to communicate with Arians.° The estrangement continued through the two years of the exile of Liberius; the Pastor was without a flock. At the close of this period, the Emperor Constantius visited Rome; A.D. 357. the females, those especially of the upper rank, (history now speaks as if the whole higher orders were Christians,) had most strenuously maintained the right of Liberius, and refused all allegiance to the intrusive Felix. They endeavoured to persuade the Senators, Consulars, and Patricians, to make a representation to the Emperor; the timid nobles devolved the dangerous office on their wives. The female deputation, in their richest attire, as befitting their rank, marched along the admiring streets, and stood before the Imperial presence; by their fearless pertinacity they obtained a promise for the release of Liberius. Even then Constantius was but imperfectly informed concerning the strength of the factions which himself having exasperated to the utmost, he now vainly attempted to reconcile. His Edict declared that the two Bishops should rule with conjoint authority, each over his respective community. Such an edict of toleration was premature by nearly fourteen centuries or more. In that place, the uncongenial atmosphere of which we should hardly have expected Christian passions to have penetrated, the Circus of Rome, the Edict was publicly read. "What!" exclaimed the

° Theodoret (H. E. ii. 16) and Sozomen (H. E. iv. 15) plainly assert that Felix adhered to the creed of Nicea. Socrates (H. E. ii. 37) condemns him as infected by the Arian heresy. By Athanasius (ad Monach, p. 861) he is called a monster, raised by the malice of Antichrist, worthy of, and fit to execute, the worst designs of his wicked partisans. This prelate of questionable faith, this usurper of the Roman See, has stolen, it is difficult to conjecture how, into the Roman Martyrology. It seems clear that he retired from Rome, and died a few years after in peace. Gregory the Thirteenth, when searching investigations into ecclesiastical history became necessary, startled by the perplexing difficulty perhaps of a canonized Arian, certainly of an antipope, with the honours of a martyr, ordered a regular inquiry into the claims of Felix. (Baron. Ann. sub ann. 357). The case looked desperate for the memory of Felix: he was in danger of degradation, when, by a seasonable miracle, his body was discovered with an ancient inscription, "Pope and Martyr." Baronius wrote a book about it, which was never published.

scoffing spectators, "because we have two factions here, distinguished by their colours, are we to have two factions in the Church?" The whole audience broke forth in an overwhelming shout, "One God! one Christ! one Bishop!"

Liberius returned, in the course of the next year, to Rome. His entrance was an ovation; the people thronged forth, as of old to meet some triumphant Consul, or Cicero on his return from exile. The rival bishop, Felix, fled before his face;[p] but Felix and his party would not altogether abandon the co-equal dignity assigned him by the decree of Constantius, and confirmed by the Council of Sirmium. He returned; and, at the head of a body of faithful ecclesiastics, celebrated divine worship in the basilica of Julius, beyond the Tiber. He was expelled, patricians and populace uniting against this, one of the earliest Antipopes who resisted armed force.[q] A tradition has survived in the Pontifical Annals, of a proscription, a massacre.[r] The streets, the baths, the churches ran with blood,—the streets, where the partisans of rival bishops encountered in arms; the baths, where Arian and Catholic could not wash together without mutual contamination; the churches where they could not join in common worship to the same Redeemer. Felix himself escaped; and lived some years in peace, on an estate near the road to Porto.[s] Liberius, Rome itself, sinks back into obscurity; the Pope mingled not, as far as is known, in the fray, which had now involved the West as well as the East, Latin as well as Greek Christianity; he was absent from the fatal Council of Rimini,[t] which deluded the world into unsuspected Arianism.[u]

Liberius in Rome. A.D. 358, Aug. 1.

A.D. 359.

The Emperor Julian, during his short and eventful reign, might seem to have forgotten, that there

A.D. 361-363.

[p] Hieron. Chron. Marc. et Faust. p. 4.

[q] This curious passage in the Pontifical Annals (apud Muratori iii. sub an.) is evidently from the party of Felix;—it asserts his Catholicity.

[r] Gibbon (who for once does not quote his special authority, nevertheless accepts it), c. xxi. v. iii. p. 385. It is rejected by Bower (v. i. p. 141) and by Walch, 'Lives of Popes,' *in loc.*

[s] He died the year before Liberius, 365.

[t] Hist. of Christ. iii. p. 46.

[u] Liberius had already subscribed, during his banishment, the creed of Sirmium. Constantius and his semi-Arian or Arian counsellors may have been content with that act of submission, which had not been formally revoked.

was such a city as Rome. Paris, Athens, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, perhaps Alexandria, might seem to be the only Imperial cities worthy of his regard. It was a Greek religion which he aspired to restore; his philosophy was Greek; his writings Greek; he taught, ruled, worshipped, perished in the East.[x] Under his successors (after Jovian), Valentinian, and Valens, while Valens afflicted the East by his feeble and frantic zeal for Arianism, Valentinian maintained the repose of the West by his rigid and impartial toleration.

Julian Emperor.

Valentinian. Sept. 23 or 24, 366.

On the death of Liberius, the factions, which had smouldered in secret, broke out again with fatal fury. The Pontificate of Damasus displays Christianity now not merely the dominant, it might almost seem the sole religion of Rome; and the Roman character is working as visibly into Christianity. The election to the Christian bishopric arrays the people in adverse factions; the government is appalled; churches become citadels, are obstinately defended, furiously stormed; they are defiled with blood. Men fall in murderous warfare before the altar of the Prince of Peace. In one sense it might seem the reanimation of Rome to new life, ancient Rome is resuming her wonted but long-lost liberties. The iron hand of despotism, from the time of the last Triumvirate, or rather from the accession of Augustus to the Empire, had compressed the unruly populace, which only occasionally dared to break out, on a change in the Imperial dynasty, to oppose, or be the victims of, the Prætorian soldiery. Now, however, the Roman populace appears quickened by a new principle of freedom; of freedom, if with some of its bold independence, with all its blind partisanship, its headstrong and stubborn ferocity. The great offices, which still perpetuated in name the ancient Republic, the Senatorship, Quæstorship, Consulate, are quietly transmitted according to the Imperial mandates, excite no popular commotion, nor even interest; for they are honorary titles, which confer neither influence, authority, nor wealth. Even the Prefecture of the city is accepted

Strife on the death of Liberius.

[x] On Julian, Hist. of Christ., vol. iii. [y] Compare Hist. of Christ., iii. p. 111, c. vi.

at the will of the Emperor, who rarely condescends to visit Rome. But the election to the bishopric is now not merely an affair of importance—*the* affair of paramount importance it might seem,—in Rome; it is an event in the annals of the world. The heathen historian,[z] on whose notice had already been forced the Athanasian controversy, Athanasius himself, the acts and the exile of Liberius, assigns the same place to the contested promotion of Damasus which Livy might to that of one of the great consuls, tribunes, or dictators. He interprets, as well as relates, the event:[a]—"No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the Bishopric of Rome, men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal females of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at a profuse, luxuriant, more than imperial, table—these are the rewards of successful ambition."[b] The honest historian contrasts this pomp and luxury with the abstemiousness, the humility, the exemplary gentleness of the provincial prelates. Ammianus, ignorant or regardless as to the legitimacy of either election, arraigns both Damasus and his rival Ursicinus[c] as equally guilty au-

[z] I assume, without hesitation, the heathenism of Ammianus, though, with regard to him, as to other writers of the time, there is as much truth as sagacity in the observation of Heyne—Est obvia res in lectione scriptorum istius temporis, prudentiorum plerosque nec patrias religiones abjecisse, nec novas damnasse, sed in his quoque pro suorum ingeniorum facultate probanda probasse. Heynii Prolus. in Wagner's edit. p. cxxxv.

[a] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 3, sub ann. 367.

[b] Compare—it is amusing and instructive—the Cardinal Baronius writing in the splendid Papal court, and the severe Jansenist Tillemont, on this passage.

[c] On the side of Ursicinus (Ursinus) is the remarkable document published by Sirmond. (Opera, i. p. 127.) The petition of Marcellinus and Faustinus to the Emperor Theodosius, who, in his answer, though they were afterwards Luciferians (an unpopular sect), testifies to their character by his gracious promises of protection. According to the Preface (is it quite certain that the Preface is of the same date?) to this Libellus Precum, Damasus was supported by the party of Felix; he was the successor of Felix, the reputed Arian, Ursicinus of Liberius.* The Presbyters, Deacons, and faithful people, who had adhered to Liberius in his exile, met in the Julian Basilica, and duly elected Ursicinus; who was consecrated by Paul, bishop of Tibur. Damasus was proclaimed by the followers of Felix, in S. M. Lucina. Damasus collected a mob of charioteers and a wild rabble, broke into the Julian Basilica, and committed great slaughter.

* Damasus, from other authority, is said to have sworn as Presbyter to own no bishop but Liberius, to have accompanied him in exile, but speedily deserted him, returned to Rome, and at last submitted to Felix.

thors of the tumult. Of the Christian writers (and there are, singularly enough, contemporary witnesses, probably eye-witnesses, on each side), the one asserts the priority and legality of election in favour of Damasus, the other of Ursicinus; the one aggravates, the other extenuates the violence and slaughter. But that scenes occurred of frightful atrocity is beyond all doubt. So long and obstinate was the conflict, that Juventius, the Præfect of the city, finding his authority contemned, his forces unequal to keep the peace, retired into the neighbourhood of Rome. Churches were garrisoned, churches besieged, churches stormed and deluged with blood. In one day, relates Ammianus, above one hundred and thirty dead bodies were counted in the basilica of Sisinnius. The triumph of Damasus cannot relieve his memory from the sanction, the excitement, hardly from active participation in these deeds of blood.[d] Nor did the contention cease with the first discomfiture and banishment of Ursicinus: he was more than once recalled, exiled, again set up as rival bishop, and re-exiled. Another frightful massacre took place in the church of St. Agnes. The Emperor was forced to have recourse to the character and firmness of the famous heathen Prætextatus, as successor to Juventius in the government of Rome, in order to put down with impartial severity these disastrous

Seven days after, having bribed a great body of ecclesiastics and the populace, and seized the Lateran Church, he was elected and consecrated bishop. Ursicinus was expelled from Rome. Damasus, however, continued his acts of violence. Seven Presbyters of the other party were hurried prisoners to the Lateran: their faction rose, rescued them, and carried them to the Basilica of Liberius (S. Maria Maggiore). Damasus, at the head of a gang of gladiators, charioteers, and labourers, with axes, swords, and clubs, stormed the church: a hundred and sixty of both sexes were barbarously killed; not one on the side of Damasus. The party of Ursicinus were obliged to withdraw, vainly petitioning for a synod of bishops to examine into the validity of the two elections. Ursicinus returned from exile more than once, but Damasus had the ladies of Rome in his favour; and the council of Valentinian was not inaccessible to bribes. New scenes of blood took place. Ursicinus was compelled at length to give up the contest.

On the other hand Damasus had on his side the great vindicator—success. Rufinus, and Jerome (then at Rome, afterwards the secretary of Damasus) assert, with the same minuteness and particularity, the priority and the lawfulness of his election: they treat Ursicinus as a schismatic; but they cannot deny, however they may mitigate, the acts of violence and bloodshed.

[d] Baronius ingeniously discovered a certain Maximus, a man of notorious cruelty, who afterwards held a high office, and might, perhaps, have been accessory to the late scenes of tumult; and quietly exculpates Damasus, by laying all the carnage upon Maximus, who was not in authority, possibly not in Rome at the commencement of the strife.

tumults. Some years elapsed before Damasus was in undisputed possession of his see.

Damasus Pope.

The strife between Damasus and Ursicinus was a prolongation or revival of that between Liberius and Felix, and so may have remotely grown out of the doctrinal conflict of Arianism and Trinitarianism. No doubt too it was a conflict of personal ambition, for the high prize of the Roman Episcopate. But there was another powerful element of discord among the Christians of Rome. The heathen historian saw and described the outward aspect of things, the tumults which disturbed the peace of the city, the conflagrations, the massacres, the assaulted and defended churches, the two masses of believers striving in arms for the mastery. So too he saw the more notorious habits, the public demeanour of the bishops and of the clergy, their pomp, wealth, ceremony. The letters of Jerome, while they confirm the statements of Ammianus, reveal the internal state, the more secret workings, in this new condition of society. Athanasius had not merely brought with him into the West, the more speculative controversies, which distracted Greek Christianity, he had also introduced the principles and spirit of Eastern Monasticism:

Monasticism in Rome.

and this too had been embraced with all the strength and intensity of the Roman character. That which during the whole of the Roman history had given a majesty, a commanding grandeur to the virtues and to the vices of the Romans, to their patrician pride and plebeian liberty, to their frugality and rapacity, to their courage, discipline, and respect for order; to their prodigality, luxury, sensuality; to their despotism and their servility; now seemed to survive in the force and devotion with which they threw themselves into Christianity, and into Christianity in its most extreme, if it may be so said, excessive form. On the one hand the Bishop and the clergy are already aspiring to a sacerdotal power and pre-eminence hardly attained, hardly aimed at in any other part of Christendom; the Pontiff cannot rest below a magnificence which would contrast as strongly with the life of the primitive Bishop, as that of Lucullus with that of Fabricius. The prodigality of the offerings to the church

and to the clergy, those more especially by bequest, is so immoderate, that a law[e] is necessary to restrain the profuseness on one hand, the avidity on the other, a law which the statesman Ambrose[f] and the Monk Jerome approve, as demanded by the abuses of the times. "Priests of idols, mimes, charioteers, harlots may receive bequests; it is interdicted, and wisely interdicted, only to ecclesiastics and monks." The Church may already seem to have taken the place of the Emperor as universal legatee. As men before bought by this posthumous adulation the favour of Cæsar, so would they now that of God. Heredipety, or legacy hunting, is inveighed against, in the clergy especially, as by the older Satirists. Jerome in his epistles is the Juvenal of his times, without his grossness indeed, for Christianity no doubt had greatly raised the standard of morals. The heathen, as represented by such men as Prætextatus (they now seem to have retired into a separate community, and stood in relation to the general society, as the Christians had stood to the heathen under Vespasian or the Antonines), had partaken in the moral advancement. But with this great exception, this repulsive licence, Jerome, both in the vehemence of his denunciations, and in his description of the vices, manners, habits of Rome, might seem to be writing of pre-Christian times.[g]

Law against Heredipety.

But the Roman character did not interwork into the general Christianity alone, it embraced monastic Christianity, in all its extremest rigour, its sternest asceticism, with the same ardour and energy. Christian Stoicism

[e] The law of Valentinian (A.D. 370) addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and ordered to be read in all the churches of the city. Cod. Theodos. xiv. 2, 20.

[f] Ambros. Epist. xxii. l. 5, p. 200. Hieronym. Epist. ii. p. 13. Solis clericis et monachis hâc lege prohibetur, et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem.—Hieronym. ad Nepotian.

[g] Prudentius, with poetic anachronism, throws back the jealousy of the heathens of the enormous wealth offered on the altars of the Christians, and the alienation of estates from their right heirs, into the third century. The Præfect of Rome reproaches the Deacon Laurentius, before his martyrdom (about 258), with the silver cups and golden candlesticks of the service:—

"Tum summa cura est fratribus—Ut sermo testatur loquax,
Offerre, fundis venditis—Sestertiorum millia.
Addicta avorum prædia—Fœdis sub auctionibus,
Successor exhæres gemit—Sanctis egens parentibus.
Hæc occuluntur abditis—Ecclesiarum in angulis,
Et summa pietas creditur—Nudare dulces liberos."
Peristeph. Hymn 11.

Compare Paolo Sarpi delle Materie Beneficiarie, c. vi. v. iv. p. 74.

could not but find its Catos; but it was principally among the females that the recoil seemed to take place from the utter shamelessness, the unspeakable profligacy of the Imperial times to a severity of chastity, to a fanatic appreciation of virginity, as an angelic state, as a kind of religious aristocratical distinction, far above the regular virtues of the wife or the matron. Pope Damasus, though by no means indifferent to the splendour of his office, was the patron, as his secretary Jerome was the preacher of this powerful party; and between this party and the priesthood of Rome there was already that hostility which has so constantly prevailed between the Regulars, the observants of monastic rule, and what were called in later times the secular clergy. The Monastics inveighed against the worldly riches, pomp, and luxury of the clergy: the clergy looked with undisguised jealousy on the growing, irresistible influence of the monks, especially over the high born females.[h] Jerome hated, and was hated with the most cordial reciprocity. The austere Jerome was accused, unjustly no doubt, of more than spiritual intimacy with his distinguished converts; his enemies brought a charge of adultery against Pope Damasus himself.[i]

Nor was this a question merely between the superior clergy and a man in the high and invidious position of Jerome, renowned for his boundless learning, and holding the eminent office of secretary under Pope Damasus. It was a dispute which agitated the people of Rome. Among the female proselytes who crowded to the teaching of Jerome, and became his most fervent votaries, were some of the most illustrious matrons, widows, and virgins.

[h] Jerome spared neither the clergy nor the monks. On the clergy, see the passage (ad Eustochium): Sunt alii, de hominibus loquor, mei ordinis, qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videantur. Then follows the description of a clerical coxcomb. His whole care is in his dress, that it be well perfumed; that his feet may not slip about in a loose sandal; his hair is crisped with a curling pin; his fingers glitter with rings; he walks on tiptoe lest he should splash himself with the wet soil; when you see him, you would think him a bridegroom rather than an ecclesiastic. Jerome ends the passage. Et isti sunt sacerdotes Baal. Then on the monks (ad Nepot.): Nonnulli sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant sæculares et clerici, qui possident opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallaci Diabolo non habuerant, *et seqq.* Compare, throughout, the account of Jerome, in the Hist. of Christianity, vol. iii. p. 323, *et seqq.*

[i] Quem in tantum matronæ diligebant, ut matronarum auriscalpius diceretur.—So says the preface to the hostile petition, the Libellus Precum. Apud Sirmond. i. p. 136.

Marcella had already, when Athanasius was at Rome, become enamoured of the hard and recluse life of the female Egyptian anchorites. But she was for some time alone. The satiric Romans laughed to scorn this new and superstitious Christianity. A layman, Helvidius, wrote a book against it, a book of some popularity, which Jerome answered with his usual controversial fury and contemptuousness. Marcella was a widow of one of the oldest patrician houses, connected with all the consular families and with the prefect of the city. She was extremely rich. She became the most ardent of Jerome's hearers; her example spread with irresistible contagion. The sister of Marcella, Paula, with her two daughters, Blesilla and Eustochium,[k] threw themselves passionately into the same devotion. Paula, like her sister, was very wealthy; she possessed great part of Nicopolis, the city founded by Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium. Blesilla, her younger daughter, was a widow at the age of twenty. She rejected the importunate persuasions of her friends to contaminate herself with a second marriage. She abandoned herself entirely to the spiritual direction of Jerome; her tender frame sank under the cruel penances and macerations which he enjoined. The death of the young and beautiful widow was attributed to these austerities. All Rome took an indignant interest in her fate; her mother, for her unnatural weakness, became an object of general reprobation, and the public voice loudly denounced Jerome as guilty of her death. A tumult broke out at the funeral; there was a loud cry,—"Why do we tolerate these accursed monks? Away with them, stone them, cast them into the Tiber!"

The pontificate of Damasus, with those of his two immediate successors, Siricius and Anastasius, is an epoch in the history of Latin Christianity, distinguished by the commencement of three great changes:—I. The progress towards sovereignty, at least over the Western Church;

[k] Among the other names of Jerome's female admirers, one sounds Hebrew,—Lea; some Greek,—Eustochium, Melanium; besides these are Principia, Felicitas, Feliciana, Marcellina, Asella. On Asella and the whole subject, see Hist. of Christianity, iii. p. 328, *et seqq.* Compare also a later work, Gfrörer, Kirchen-Geschichte, ii. p. 631, *et seqq.*

the steps thus made in advance will find their place in the general view of the Papal power on the accession of Innocent I. II. The rapidly increasing power of monasticism. III. The promulgation of a Latin version of the Scriptures, which became the religious code of the West, was received as of equal authority with the original Greek or Hebrew, and thus made the Western independent of the Eastern churches, superseded the original Scriptures for centuries in the greatest part of Christendom, operated powerfully on the growth of Latin Christian literature, contributed to establish Latin as the language of the Church, and still tends to maintain the unity with Rome of all nations whose languages have been chiefly formed from the Latin.

Of both these events, the extension of monasticism, the promulgation of the Vulgate Bible, Jerome was the author; of the former principally, of the latter exclusively. This was his great and indefeasible title to the appellation of Father of the Latin Church. Whatever it may owe to the older and fragmentary versions of the sacred writings, Jerome's Bible is a wonderful work, still more as achieved by one man, and that a Western Christian, even with all the advantage of study and of residence in the East. It almost created a new language. The inflexible Latin became pliant and expansive, naturalising foreign Eastern imagery, Eastern modes of expression and of thought, and Eastern religious notions, most uncongenial to its own genius and character; and yet retaining much of its own peculiar strength, solidity, and majesty. If the Northern, the Teutonic languages, coalesce with greater facility with the Orientalism of the Scriptures, it is the triumph of Jerome to have brought the more dissonant Latin into harmony with the Eastern tongues. The Vulgate was even more, perhaps, than the Papal power the foundation of Latin Christianity.

Jerome cherished the secret hope, if it was not the avowed object of his ambition, to succeed Damasus as the Bishop of Rome. He was designated, he says, almost by unanimous consent for that dignity.[m] Is the rejection

[m] Omnium pæne judicio, dignus summo sacerdotio decernebatur. Epist. xlv. ad Asellam, 3.

of an aspirant so singularly unfit for the station, from his violent passions, his insolent treatment of his adversaries, his utter want of self-command, his almost unrivalled faculty of awakening hatred, to be attributed to the sagacious and intuitive wisdom of Rome? Or, as is far more probable, did the vanity of Jerome mistake outward respect for general attachment, awe of his abilities and learning for admiration, and so blind him to the ill-dissembled, if dissembled, hostility which he had provoked in so many quarters? It is difficult to refrain from speculating on his elevation. How signally dangerous would it have been to have loaded the rising Papacy with the responsibility of all, or even a large part of the voluminous works of Jerome! The station of a Father of the Church, one of the four great Latin Fathers, committed Christendom to a less close adhesion to all his opinions, while at the same time it placed him above jealous and hostile scrutiny. It was not till two centuries later, when speculative subjects had ceased to agitate the Christian mind, and the creed and the discipline had settled down to a mature and established form, that a Father of the Church, a voluminous writer, could safely appear on the episcopal throne of Rome. Gregory the Great was at once the representative and the voice of the Christianity of his age. Nor could the great work of Jerome have been achieved at Rome, assuredly not by a Pope. It was in his cell at Bethlehem, meditating and completing the Vulgate, that Jerome fixed for centuries the dominion of Latin Christianity over the mind of man. Siricius was the successor of Damasus.[n] Jerome left ungrateful Rome, against whose sins the recluse of Palestine becomes even more impassioned, whose clergy and people become blacker and more inexcusable in his harsher and more unsparing denunciations.

Pope Siricius. A.D. 384-398.

The pontificate of Siricius is memorable for the first authentic Decretal, the first letter of the Bishop of Rome, which became a law to the Western Church, and the foundation of the vast system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It betrays the Roman tendency to harden into inflexible statute that which was left before to usage, opinion, or feeling. The East enacted creeds, the West discipline.

[n] Damasus died Dec. 11.

The Decree of Siricius was addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona.[o] Himerius had written before the death of Damasus to consult the Bishop of Rome on certain doubtful points of usage, the validity of heretical baptism, the treatment of apostates, of religious persons guilty of incontinence, the steps which the clergy were to pass through to the higher ranks, and the great question of all, the celibacy of the clergy. The answer of Siricius is in the tone of one who supposed that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom. It was to be communicated beyond the province of Tarragona, throughout Spain, in Carthagena, Bætica, Lusitania, Galicia. It appears, by an allusion in a writing of Pope Innocent I., even in Southern Gaul. The all-important article was on the marriage of the clergy; this was peremptorily interdicted, as by an immutable ordinance, to all priests and deacons. This law, while it implied the ascendancy of monastic opinions, showed likewise that there was a large part of the clergy who could only be controlled into celibacy by law. Even now the law was forced to make some temporary concessions. Those who confessed that it was a fault, and could plead ignorance that celibacy was an established usage of the Church, were exempted from penalties, but could not hope for promotion to a higher rank.

The Decretal. A.D. 385.

This unrepealed law was one of the characteristics of Latin Christianity. Her first voice of authority might seem to utter the stern prohibition. This, more than any other measure, separated the sacerdotal order from the rest of society, from the common human sympathies, interests, affections. It justified them to themselves in assuming a dignity superior to the rest of mankind, and seemed their title to enforce acknowledgment and reverence for that superior dignity. The Monastic principle admitting, virtually at least, almost to its full extent, the Manichean tenet of the innate sinfulness of all sexual intercourse, as partaking of the inextinguishable impurity of Matter, was gradually wrought into the general feeling. Whether marriage was treated as in itself an evil,

Celibacy of the Clergy.

[o] Apud Mansi, sub ann. 385, or Constant. Epist. Pontificum.

perhaps to be tolerated, but still degrading to human nature, as by Jerome[p] and the more ascetic teachers; or honoured, as by Augustine, with a specious adulation, only to exalt virginity to a still loftier height above it;[q] the clergy were taught to assert it at once as a privilege, a distinction, as the consummation and the testimony to the sacredness of their order. As there was this perpetual appeal to their pride (they were thus visibly set apart from the vulgar, the rest of mankind),[r] so they were compelled to its observance at once by the law of the Church, and by the fear of falling below their perpetual rivals, the monks, in the general estimation. The argument of their greater usefulness to Christian society, of their more entire devotion to the duties of their holy function, by being released from the cares and duties of domestic life: the noble Apostolic motive, that they ought to be bound to the world by few, and those the most fragile ties, in order more fearlessly to incur danger, or to sacrifice even life more readily in the cause of the Cross; such low incentives were disdained as beneath consideration. Some hardy opponents, Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and others of more obscure name, endeavoured to stem the mingling tide of authority and popular sentiment; they were swept away by its resistless force.[s] They boldly called in question the first principles of the new Christian theory, and in the name of reason, nature, and the New Testament, denied this inherent perfection of virginity, as compared with lawful marriage. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, lifted up at once their voices against these unexpected and mistimed adversaries. Jerome went so far in his disparagement of marriage, as to be disclaimed by his own ardent admirers: but still his adversaries have been handed down to posterity under the ill-omened name of heretics, solely, or almost solely, on this account. They live, in his vituperative pages, objects of scorn more than of

[p] On Jerome's views see quotations Hist. of Christianity, iii. 320, *et seqq.*

[q] Gaudium virginum Christi — de Christo, in Christo, cum Christo, post Christum, per Christum, propter Christum. Sequantur itaque agnum qui virginitatem corporis amiserunt, non quocunque ille ierit, sed quousque ipsi potuerint. De Sanct. Virgin. cap. 27.— The virgin and her mother may both be in heaven, but one a bright, the other a dim star. Serm. 354, ad Continent.

[r] Quid interesset inter populum et sacerdotem, si iisdem adstringerentur legibus. Ambros. Epist. lxiii. ad Eccl. Vercell.

[s] I have entered somewhat more at length into this controversy in the Hist. of Christianity.

hatred. So unpopular was their resistance to the spirit of the age. The general feeling shuddered at their refusal to admit that which had now become one of the leading articles of Latin Christian faith. Yet, notwithstanding this, the law of the Celibacy of the Clergy, even though imposed with such overweening authority, was not received without some open and more tacit resistance. There were few, perhaps, courageous or far-sighted enough to oppose the principle itself, though even among bishops Jovinian was not without followers. Others, incautiously admitting the principle, struggled to escape from its consequences. In some regions the married clergy formed the majority, and, always supporting married bishops by their suffrages and influence, kept up a formidable succession. Still Christendom was against them; and in most cases, those who were conscientiously opposed to these austere restrictions, had recourse to evasions or secret violations of the law, infinitely more dangerous to public morals. Throughout the whole period, from Pope Siricius to the Reformation, as must appear in the course of our history, the law was defied, infringed, eluded. It never obtained anything approaching to general observance, though its violation was at times more open, at times more clandestine.

Extinction of paganism.

The Pontificates of Damasus and Siricius beheld almost the last open struggles of expiring Roman paganism, the dispute concerning the Statue of Victory in the Senate, the secession of a large number of the more distinguished senators, the pleadings of the eloquent Symmachus for the toleration of the religion of ancient Rome; to such humiliation were reduced the deities of the Capitol, the gods, who, as was supposed, had achieved the conquest of the world, and laid it at the feet of Rome. But in this great contest the Bishop of Rome filled only an inferior part; it was Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, who enforced the final sentence of condemnation against paganism, asserted the sin, in a Christian Emperor, of assuming any Imperial title connected with pagan worship, and of permitting any portion of the public revenue to be expended on the rites of idolatry. It was Ambrose who forebade the last marks of respect to the tutelar divinities of Rome in the public ceremonies.

Latin Christianity, in truth, in all but its monarchical

strength, in its unity under one Head, and under one code of ecclesiastical law, enacted and executed in its last resort by that Head, was established in its dominion over the human mind without the walls of Rome. It was Jerome, who sent forth the Vulgate from his retreat in Palestine; it was Ambrose of Milan who raised the sacerdotal power to more than independence, limited the universal homage paid to the Imperial authority, protected youthful and feeble Emperors, and in the name of justice and of humanity rebuked the greatest sovereign of the age. It was Augustine, Bishop of the African Hippo, who organized Latin theology; wrought Christianity into the minds and hearts of men by his impassioned autobiography; and finally, under the name of the "City of God," established that new and undefined kingdom, at the head of which the Bishop of Rome was hereafter to place himself as Sovereign; that vast polity, which was to rise out of the ruins of ancient and pagan Rome; if not to succeed at once to the temporal supremacy, to superinduce a higher government, that of God himself. This divine government was sure eventually to fall to those who were already aspiring to be the earthly representatives of God. The Theocracy of Augustine, comprehending both worlds, Heaven as well as earth, was far more sublime, as more indefinite, than the spiritual monarchy of the later Popes. It established, it contemplated no such external, or visible autocracy, but it prepared the way for it in the minds of men; the spiritual City of God became a secular monarchy ruling by spiritual means.

It may be well here to close the fourth century of Christianity, which ended in the uneventful pontificate of Anastasius I. Four hundred years had now elapsed since the birth of the Redeemer. The gospel was the established religion of both parts of the Roman Empire; Greek and Latin Christianity divided the Roman world. Most of the barbarians, who had settled within the frontiers of the Empire, had submitted to her religion. With Christianity the hierarchical system had embraced the world.

Anastasius I.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.	BISHOPS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.	PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA.	PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH.	BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.
	397. Chrysostom. 404.	395. Theophilus. 412.	381. Flavianus. 404.	386. John. 416.	395. Honorius. 423.	395. Arcadius. 408.
402. Innocent I. 417.	404. Arsacius. 405.		404. Porphyrius 414.			408. Theodosius II. 450.
	406. Atticus. 425.					
417. Zosimus. 418.		412. Cyril. 444.	414. Alexander. 421.	416. Praylus. 428.		
418. Bonifacius. 422.						
418. (Eulalius, Antipope). 419.						
422. Colestinus I. 432.	426. Sisinnius. 427.		421. Theodotus. 429.	428. Juvenalis. 458.	424. Valentinian III. 455	
	428. Nestorius. (deposed). 431.		429. John I. 442.			
432. Sixtus III. 440.	431 Maximianus. 434.					
	434. Proclus. 447.					
440. Leo I. 461.	447. Flavianus. (murdered.) 449.	444. Dioscorus, (deposed.) 451.	442. Domnus II. (deposed.) 449.			
	449. Anatolius. 458.		449. Maximus. 455.			
	458. Gennadius. 471.	451. Proterius, 460. Timotheus Ælurus, rival bishops.	456. Basilius. 458.	458. Anastasius. 478.	455. Maximus 461. Avitus.	450. Marcian. 457.
			458. Acacius. 459.		Majorian. 461.	457. Leo I. 474.
		460. Salofaciolus 477. T. Ælurus.	460. Martyrius, 471. (abdicated.)		461. Severus. 464.	

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

INNOCENT I.

THE fifth century of Christianity has begun, and now arises a line of Roman prelates, some of them from their personal character, as well as from the circumstances of the time, admirably qualified to advance the supremacy of the See of Rome, at least over Western Christendom.

Christianity, in its Latin form, which for centuries was to be its most powerful, enduring, prolific development, for her stability and unity of influence wanted a capital and a centre; and Rome might seem deserted by her emperors for the express purpose of allowing the spiritual monarchy to grow up without any dangerous collision against the civil government. The emperors had long withdrawn from Rome as the royal residence. Of those who bore the title, one ruled in Constantinople, and, more and more absorbed in the cares and calamities of the Eastern sovereignty, became gradually estranged from the affairs of the West. Nor was it till the time of Justinian that any attempt was made to revive his imperial pretensions to Rome. The Western Emperor lingered for a time in inglorious obscurity among the marshes of Ravenna, till at length the faint shadow of monarchy melted away, and a barbarian assumed the power and the appellation of Sovereign of Italy. Still, of the barbarian kings, not one ventured to fix himself in the ancient capital, or to inhabit the mouldering palaces of the older Cæsars. Nor could Ravenna, Milan, or Pavia, though the seats of monarchs, obscure the greatness of Rome in general reverence: they were still provincial cities; nor could they divert the tide of commerce, of concourse, of

Rome centre of the West.

legal, if not of administrative business, which, however more irregular and intermitting, still flowed towards Rome. The internal government of the city retained something of the old republican form which had been permitted to subsist under the despotism of the emperors. Above the consuls or Senate, the shadows of former magistracies, the supreme authority was vested in a delegate, or representative of the Emperor, the prefect, or governor; but, with the empire, that authority became more and more powerless. The aristocracy, as we shall ere long see, were scattered abroad after the capture of the city by Alaric, and were never after reorganised into a powerful party. Some centuries elapsed before that feudal oligarchy grew up, which, at a later period, were such dangerous enemies to the Papacy, degrading it to the compulsory appointment of turbulent or immoral prelates, or by the personal insult, and even the murder, of popes. During the following period, therefore, the Bishop of Rome, respected by the barbarians, even by the fiercest pagans, none of whom were quite without awe of the high priesthood of the Roman religion, and, by that respect, commended still more strongly to the reverence of all Latin Christians; alone hallowed, as it were, and permitted to maintain his serene dignity amid scenes of violence, confusion, and bloodshed; grew rapidly up to be the most important person in the city; if not in form the supreme magistrate, dominant in influence and admitted authority, the all-venerated Head of the Church, and where the civil power thus lay prostrate, assuming, without awakening jealousy, and for the public advantage, many of its functions, and maintaining some show of order and of rule.

Succession to St. Peter.

It was not solely as a Christian bishop, and bishop of that city, which was still, according to the prevailing feeling, the capital of the world, but as the successor of St. Peter, of him who was now acknowledged to be the head of the apostolic body, that the Roman pontiff commanded the veneration of Rome and of Christendom. The primacy of St. Peter, and the primacy of Rome, had been long reacting upon each other in the

minds of men, and took root in the general sentiment. The Church of Rome would own no founder less than the chief Apostle; and the distance between St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, even St. Paul himself, was increased by his being acknowledged as the spiritual ancestor of the Bishop of Rome. At the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity. As yet his pretensions to supremacy were vague and unformed; but when authority is in the ascendant, it is the stronger for being indefinite. It is almost a certain sign that it is becoming precarious, or has been called in question, when it condescends to appeal to precedent, written statute, or regular jurisdiction.

Everything tended to confirm, nothing to impede or to weaken the gradual condensation of the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Supreme Bishop. The majesty of the notion of one all-powerful ruler, to which the world had been so long familiarised in the emperors, the discord and emulation among the other prelates, both of the East and West, and the manifest advantage of a supreme arbiter: the Unity of the visible Church, which was becoming—or had, indeed, become—the dominant idea of Christendom; all seemed to demand, or, at least, had a strong tendency to promote and to maintain the necessity of one Supreme Head. As the unity in Christ was too sublimely spiritual, so the supremacy of the collective episcopate, which endowed each bishop with an equal portion of apostolic dignity and of power, was a notion too speculative and metaphysical for the common mind. Councils were only occasional diets, or general conventions, not a standing representative Senate of Christendom. There was a simplicity and distinctness in the conception of one visible Head to one visible body, such as forcibly arrests and fully satisfies the less inquiring mind, which still seeks something firm and stable whereon to repose its faith. Cyprian, in whom the unity of the Church had taken its severest form, though practically he refused to submit the independence of the African churches to the dictation of Rome, did far more to advance her

Unity of the Church.

power by the primacy which he assigned to St. Peter, than he impaired it by his steady and disdainful repudiation of her authority, whenever it was brought to the test of submission.[a]

In the West, throughout Latin Christendom, the Roman See, in antiquity, in dignity, in the more regular succession of its prelates, stood alone and unapproachable. In the great Eastern bishopries the holy lineage had been already broken and confused by the claims of rival prelates, by the usurpation of bishops, accounted heretical, at the present period Arians or Macedonians, or Apollinarians, later Nestorians or Monophysites. Jerusalem had never advanced that claim to which it might seem entitled by its higher antiquity. Jerusalem was not universally acknowledged as an Apostolic See; at all events it was the capital of Judaism rather than of Christianity; and the succession, at the time of the Jewish war, and during the period of desolation to the time of Hadrian, had been interrupted at least in its local descent. At one period Jerusalem was subordinate to the Palestinian Cæsaræa. Antioch had been perpetually contested; its episcopal line had been vitiated, its throne contaminated by the actual succession of several Arian prelates.[b] In Alexandria the Arian prelates had been considered lawless usurpers: the orthodox Church had never voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction; and Alexandria had been hallowed as the episcopal seat of the great Athanasius. But Athanasius himself, when driven from his see, had found an hospitable reception at Rome, and constant support from the Roman Bishops. His presence had reflected a glory upon that see, which, but for one brief period of compulsory apostacy, had remained rigidly attached to the orthodox Trinitarian opinions. Constantinople was but a new city, and had

[a] Qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in ecclesiâ se esse confidit? This was a plain and intelligible doctrine. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur—was a conception far more vague and abstract, and therefore far less popular. De Unit. Eccl. See for the dispute with Stephen, Bishop of Rome, Ch. i.

[b] The obvious difficulty of the Primacy of Antioch as the first See of St. Peter, which, it might seem, if not objected, had been at least suggested, was thus met by Innocent I. Quæ urbis Romæ sedi non cederet, nisi quod ipsa in transitu meruit, ista susceptum apud se, consummatumque gaudet.—Innocent. Epis. xix. ad Alexand.

no pretensions to venerable or apostolic origin. It had attained, indeed, to the dignity of a patriarchate, but only by the decree of a recent council; in other respects it owed all its eminence to being the prelacy of new Rome, of the seat of empire. The feuds and contests between the rival patriarchates of the East were constantly promoting the steady progress of Rome towards supremacy. Throughout the fierce rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople, the hostilities which had even now begun between Theophilus and Chrysostom, and which were continued with implacable violence between Cyril and Nestorius, Flavianus and Dioscorus, the alliance of the Bishop of Rome was too important not to be purchased at any sacrifice; and if the independence of the Eastern churches was compromised, if not by an appeal to Rome, at least by the ready admission of her interference, the leaders of the opposing parties were too much occupied by their immediate objects, and blinded by factious passions, to discern or to regard the consequences of these silent aggressions. From the personal or political objects of these feuds the Bishop of Rome might stand aloof; in the religious questions he might mingle in undisturbed dignity, or might offer himself as mediator, just as he might choose the occasion, and almost on his own terms. At the same time, not merely on the great subject of the Trinity, had Rome repudiated the more obnoxious heresy, even on less vital questions, the Latin capital happy in the exemption from controversial bishops, had rarely swerved from the canon of severe orthodoxy; and if any one of her bishops had been forced or perplexed into a rash or erroneous decision, as Liberius, during his short concession to semi-Arianism; or, as we shall see before long, Zosimus to Pelagianism; and a still later pope, who was bewildered into Monophytism, their errors were effaced by a speedy, full, and glorious recantation.

Thus the East, agitated by furious conflicts concerning the highest doctrines of Christianity, concerning the pre-eminence of the rival sees for dominant influence with the Emperor, was still throwing itself, as each faction was oppressed by its rival, at the feet of

The East courts Rome.

remote and more impartial Rome. In the West, at the same time, the disputes which were constantly arising about points of discipline, the succession of bishops, the boundaries of conflicting jurisdictions, still demanded and were glad to have recourse to a foreign arbitrator; and who so fitting an arbiter as the Bishop of that city, which, in theory at least, was still the centre of civil government, the seat of Cæsar's tribunal, to whom the Roman world had acquired a settled and inveterate habit of appeal? Rome the mother of civil, might likewise give birth to canonical jurisprudence.[c]

Name of Rome.

For the great talisman of the Papal influence was the yet majestic name of Rome. The bishops gave laws to the city, which had so long given, and still to so great an extent, gave laws to the world. In the sentiment of mankind, at least in the West, Rome had never been dethroned from her supremacy. There were still Roman armies, Roman laws, Roman municipalities, Roman literature, in name at least a Roman Empire.[d] Constantinople boasted rather than disdained the appellation of New Rome. But while the Bishops of Rome retained much of the awe and reverence which adhered to the name, they stood aloof from all which desecrated and degraded it. It was the idolatrous and pagan Rome which fell before the barbarians, or rather was visited for its vices and crimes, its persecutions, and its still obstinate infidelity, by those terrible instruments of the divine vengeance. As our history will show, the discomfiture of the heathen Rhadagaisus, and the tutelary, though partial, protection which Christianity spread over the city during the capture by Alaric (to which Augustine triumphantly appealed), were not obliterated by the unawed and remorseless devastation of Genseric. The retreat of Attila, the most

[c] Until the Roman Curia became inordinate in its exactions, and so utterly venal as it is universally represented in later centuries, this arbitration, when so much was yet unsettled, while the new society was yet in the process of formation, must have tended to peace and so to the strength of Christianity.

[d] See in Ausonius the curious ordo of the cities of the Empire.—1. Prima urbes inter, divûm domus, aurea Roma — 2. Constantinople, before whom bows 3. Carthage—4. Antioch—5. Alexandria—6. Treves — 7. Milan — 8. Capua — 9. Aquileia—10. Arles—11. Merida—12. Athens—13. 14. Catania, Syracuse—15. Thoulouse — 16. Narbonne — 17. Bordeaux. The poet is a Gaul, a native of Bordeaux. Ravenna seems to have fallen into obscurity. Ausonii. Poem.

terrible of all the Northern conquerors, before the imposing sanctity, as it was universally believed, of Pope Leo, blended again in indissoluble alliance the sacred security of Rome with the authority of her bishop. Leo himself, as will be hereafter seen, exalts St. Peter and St. Paul into the Romulus and Remus of the new universal Roman dominion.

Accession of Innocent.

It was at this period (the commencement of the fifth century), when the Imperial power was declining towards extinction in the hands of the feeble Honorius, and the Roman arms were for the last time triumphant, under Stilicho, over the Northern barbarians, that a prelate was placed on the episcopal throne of Rome, of a bolder and more imperious nature, of unimpeachable holiness, who held the pontifical power for a longer period than is usual in the rapid succession of the bishops of Rome. Ambrose was now dead, and there was no Western prelate, at least in Europe, whose fame and abilities could obscure that pre-eminence, which rank and position, and, in his case, commanding character, bestowed on the Bishop of Rome. Innocent, like most of the greater Popes, was by birth, if not a Roman, of the Roman territory. He was born at Albano.[e] The patriotism of a Roman might mingle with his holier aspirations for the spiritual greatness of the ancient mistress of the world. Upon the mind of Innocent appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline. A.D. 402.

Up to the accession of Innocent, the steps by which the See of Rome, during the preceding century, had advanced towards the legal recognition of a supremacy, were few but not unimportant; the first had been made by the Council of Sardica, the renown of whose resolute orthodoxy gave it peculiar weight in all parts of Christendom, where the Athanasian Trinitarianism maintained its ascendancy. It is not difficult to trace the motives which

[e] There is an expression in one of St. Jerome's letters, which, taken literally, asserts Innocent to have been the son of his predecessor Anastasius. Qui apostolicæ cathedræ et supradicti viri successor et *filius* est. Is it to be presumed, that this is an incautious metaphor of St. Jerome?

influenced the Bishops at Sardica. Great principles are often established by measures which grow out of temporary interests. The Western orthodox Bishops at Sardica hardly escaped being out-numbered by their heretical adversaries; there were ninety-four on one side, seventy-six on the other. Had not the turbulent, but irresolute, minority withdrawn to Philippopolis, and there set up a rival synod, the issue might have been almost doubtful; at all events, where parties were so evenly balanced, intrigue, accident, activity on one part, supineness on the other, or the favour of the Emperor, might summon an assembly, in which the preponderance would be in favour of Arianism (it was so a few years after at Rimini); and thus might heresy gain the sanction of a Council of Christendom. But Rome had, up to this time, before the fall of Liberius, so firmly, so repeatedly, so solemnly, embraced the cause of Athanasius, that it might seem to be irrevocably committed to orthodoxy; an appeal to Rome, therefore, would always give an opportunity to an orthodox minority, to annul or to suspend the decrees of an heretical Church. In all causes, therefore, of bishops (and not merely were the bishops in general the chief members of Councils, but the first proceeding of all the Councils, at this period, was to depose the prelates of the opposite party) an appeal to Rome would both secure a second hearing, by more favourable judges, of the subject under controversy, and might maintain, notwithstanding adverse decrees, all the orthodox bishops upon their thrones. The Council of Sardica, therefore, in its canons, established the law, that on an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he might decide whether the judgment was to be reconsidered, and appoint judges for the second hearing of the cause; he might even, if he thought fit, take the initiative; and delegate an ecclesiastic "from his side," to institute a commission of inquiry.[f]

Sardica 347. Rimini 359.

The right of appeal to Rome, thus established by

[f] Et si judicaverit renovandum esse judicium, renovetur, et det judices; si autem probaverit, talem causam esse, ut non refricetur, ea quæ acta sunt, quæ decreverant, confirmata erant. Can 3.—Can. 5 permits him to send this presbyterum a latere. Mansi, sub ann.

ecclesiastical, was confirmed by Imperial authority during the reign of Valentinian II. Up to that time the Emperors, if they did not possess by the constitution of the Church, exercised nevertheless by virtue of their supreme and indefeasible authority, and by the irresistible, and, as yet rarely contested, tenure of power, the right of summary decision in religious as in civil causes. A feeble emperor would willingly devolve, on a more legitimate court, these troublesome and perplexing affairs. To a monarch, another spiritual Monarch would appear at once the most natural and the most efficient delegate to relieve him from these burthens; he would feel no jealousy of such useful and unconflicting autocracy; and the Western Emperor would of course invest in this part of the Imperial prerogative the Bishop of the Imperial City.

A.D. 381. Law of Valentinian.

Now too the temporal power, the Empire, was sinking rapidly into the decrepitude of age, the Papacy rising in the first vigour of its youthful ambition. Honorius was cowering in the palace of Ravenna from the perils which were convulsing the empire on all sides, while the provinces were withdrawing their doubtful allegiance, or in danger of being dissevered from the Roman dominion. Innocent was on the episcopal throne of Rome, asserting his almost despotic spiritual control over those very provinces.

Innocent, in his assertion of supremacy, might seem to disdain the authority of Council or Emperor. He declares, in one of his earliest epistles, that all the churches of the West, not of Italy alone, but of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, having been planted by St. Peter and his successors, owe filial obedience to the parent See, are bound to follow her example in all points of discipline, and to maintain a rigid uniformity with all her usages.[g] To the minutest point Rome will again be the legislator of the world; and it is singular to behold a representative, as it were, of each of these provinces bringing the first fruits of that deference,

[g] Cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam insulasque intervenientes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos venerabilis Apostolus Petrus ejusque successores constituerint sacerdotes. Epist. ad Decent. Episcop. Eugubin.

Jaffe dates this Epist. 416. March 19. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

which was construed into unlimited allegiance, to the feet of the majestic Pontiff. The Bishop of Rouen requests from the Bishop of Rome, the rules of ecclesiastical discipline observed within his See.[h] Innocent approves the zeal of the Gaulish Bishop for uniformity, so contrary to the lawless spirit of innovation, which prevailed in some parts of the Christian world; and sends him a book containing certain regulations of peculiar severity, especially as to the celibacy of the clergy. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, is
404. Feb. 15. commended in a still more lofty and protecting tone of condescension for his wise recourse to the See of Rome, rather than the usurpation of undue authority. To the Spanish Synod of Toledo, the Bishop of Rome speaks something in the character of an appellant judge. The province of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, on the original division, had been adjudged to the Western
405. Feb. Empire. The Bishop of Rome exercised a certain jurisdiction, granted or recognised by the Council of Sardica, as the Metropolitan of the West. Damasus had appointed the Bishop of Thessalonica, as a kind of legate or representative of his authority. Innocent, in his epistle to the Bishops of Macedonia, expresses a haughty astonishment that his decisions are not admitted without examination, and gravely insinuates that some wrong may be in-
A.D. 414. tended to the dignity of the Apostolical See.[i] More doubtful was the allegiance of Africa. At the commencement of Innocent's pontificate, his influence with the Emperor was solicited for the suppression of the obstinate Donatists. Towards the close of his life, a correspondence took place concerning Pelagius and his doctrines. The

[h] In the third rule, which gives the provincial synods of bishops supreme authority in their own province, the words "sine prejudicio tamen Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri," are rejected as a late interpolation. Epist. ad Victricium. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

Dilectio tua institutum secuta prudentium, ad sedem apostolicam referre maluit, quid de rebus dubiis custodiri deberet, potius quam usurpatione præsumptâ, quæ sibi viderentur, de singulis obtinere. Ad Exup. Episc. Tol. Labbe, ii. p. 1254.

[i] In quibus (epistolis) multa posita pervidi quæ stuporem mentibus nostris inducerent, facerentque nos non modicum dubitare utrum aliter putaremus an ita esse posita, quemadmodum personabant. Quæ cum sæpius repeti fecissem, adverti, sedi apostolicæ ad quam relatio, quasi ad caput ecclesiarum missa esse debebat, aliquam fieri injuriam, cujus adhuc in ambiguum sententia duceretur. Epist. xxii. ad Episc. Macedon. Labbe, ii. 1272.

African Churches, even Augustine himself, did not disguise their apprehension, that Innocent might be betrayed into an approbation of those tenets; they desired to strengthen their own stern and peremptory decrees with the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The language of Innocent was in his wonted imperious style; the A.D. 417. African Churches seem to have treated his pretensions to superiority with silent disregard.

In the East, Constantinople, Alexandria, and even Antioch, were driven by their own bitter feuds and hostilities, to court the alliance of Rome; it could hardly be without some compromise of independence. Innocent and Chrysostom. A.D. 404.

In espousing the cause of Chrysostom against his rival Theophilus of Alexandria, Innocent took that side which was supported by the better and wiser, as well as by the popular voice of Christendom. He was the fearless advocate of persecuted holiness, of eloquence, of ecclesiastical dignity, against the aggressions of a violent foreign prelate, who was interfering in an independent diocese, and against the intrigues of a court notoriously governed by female influence. The slight asperities of Chrysostom's character, the monastic austerities which seemed to some ill suited to the magnificence of so great a prelate, the aggressions on the privileges of some churches not strictly under his jurisdiction, but which were notoriously ventured for the promotion of Christian holiness, by the suppression of simony, and other worse vices; these less obvious causes of Chrysostom's unpopularity hardly transpired beyond the limits of his diocese, were lost in the dazzling splendour of his talents and his virtues, or forgotten among his cruel wrongs.[j] Chrysostom appeared before the more distant Christian world as the greatest orator who had ever ascended the pulpit of the church. His name, the Golden Mouth, expressed the universal admiration of his powers. After having held Antioch under the spell of his oratory for many years, he had been called to the episcopal throne of the Eastern Metropolis by general acclamation. Now,

[j] Compare Hist. of Christianity, b. iii. c. ix.

notwithstanding the fond attachment of the greater part of Constantinople, and the manifest interposition, as it was supposed, of heaven, which on his banishment had shaken the guilty city with an earthquake, and compelled his triumphant recall, he was again driven from his see, degraded by the precipitate decree of an illegal and partial council, and exposed to the most merciless persecution. The one crime, which could have blinded into hatred the love and admiration of the Christian world, heterodoxy of opinion, was not charged against him by his most malicious enemies. His only ostensible delinquency was the uncompromising rebuke of vice in high places, and disrespect to the Imperial Majesty, which, even if true to the utmost, however it might astonish the timidity, or shock the servility of the East; in the West, to which the dominion of Arcadius and Eudoxia did not extend, would be deemed only a bold and salutary assertion of episcopal dignity and Christian courage. The letter addressed by Chrysostom, according to the copies in the Greek writers, to the three great prelates of the West, the Bishops of Rome, Milan, and Aquileia, in the Roman copies to Innocent alone,[k] was written with all his glowing fervour and brilliant perspicuity. After describing the scenes of outrage and confusion in the church at Easter, the violation of the sanctuary, and the insults inflicted on the sacred persons of priests and dedicated virgins and bishops, the Bishop of Constantinople entreats the friendly interposition of the Western prelates to obtain a general and legitimate council empowered to examine the whole affair. The answer of Innocent is calm, moderate, dignified, perhaps artful. He expresses his awful horror at these impious scenes of

[k] There is great variation in different parts of the Roman copy: it is sometimes addressed to persons in the plural number, sometimes to an individual in the singular. This appears to me no very important argument, though adduced by the most candid Protestant writers, *e. g.* Shroeck. This cry of distress would not be carefully or suspiciously worded, so as to provide against any incautious admission of superiority, of which Chrysostom, under such circumstances, thought little, even if any such claims had been already made. But the strongest proof (if I must enter into the controversy) that Chrysostom and his followers addressed themselves to the bishops of Italy, as well as to that of Rome, seems to me the very passage in the Epistle of the Emperor Honorius, which is adduced, even by Pagi, to prove the contrary. Missi ad sacerdotes urbis æternæ *atque Italiæ* utrâque ex parte legati; expectabatur ex *omnium* auctoritate sententia .... Namque *hi*, quorum expectabatur auctoritas.

violence, deep interest in the fate of Chrysostom; he does not however prejudge the question, he does not even refuse to communicate with Theophilus, till after the solemn decree of a council. Yet the sympathies of Innocent, as of all the better part of Christendom, were with the eloquent, oppressed, and patient exile. The sentiments as well as the influence of the Roman prelate were ere long proclaimed to the world, by an Imperial letter in favour of Chrysostom, which no persuasion but that of Innocent could have obtained from the Emperor of the West. Honorius openly espoused the cause of the exile: and though, throughout the A.D. 406. whole of the transaction, the East, with something of the irritable consciousness of wrong and injustice, resented the interference of the West, and treated the messengers of the Italian prelates with studied neglect and contumely, the defenders of Chrysostom were so clearly on the side of justice, humanity, generous compassion for the oppressed, as well as of ecclesiastical order, that the Bishop of Rome, the Head at least of the Italian prelates, could not but rise in the general estimation of Christendom. The fidelity of Innocent to the cause of Chrysostom did not cease with the death of the persecuted prelate: he refused to communicate with Atticus, his successor, or the usurper, according to the conflicting parties, of the See of Constantinople, unless Atticus would acknowledge Chrysostom to have been the rightful bishop until his death.[m] Common reverence for Chrysostom, and common hostility to Atticus brought Innocent into close alliance with Alexander, Bishop of Antioch. During his correspondence with Alex- A.D. 416. ander, Innocent is disposed to attribute a subordinate primacy to Antioch, as the temporary See of St. Peter.

[m] There is a regular act of excommunication, in some of the Latin writers—(it was brought to light by Baronius)—in which Innocent boldly excludes the Emperor Arcadius from the communion of the faithful. It is expressed with all the proud humility, the unctuous imperiousness of a later period. It is given up, by all the more sensible writers of the Roman Catholic church, principally on account of a fatal blunder. It includes the Dalila, the Empress Eudoxia, under the anathema. Eudoxia had been dead several years. (See Pagi, sub ann. 407.) I am in a constant perplexity; fearing, on one hand, to omit all notice of, on the other feeling something like contempt for, these forgeries, which are always so injurious to the cause they wish to serve. As an impartial historical inquirer, I continually rise from them with my suspicion, even of better attested documents, so much sharpened, that I have to struggle vigorously against a general scepticism.

Rome now chose to rest her title to supremacy on the succession from the great Apostle. Peter could hardly have passed through any see, without leaving behind him some inheritance of peculiar dignity; while Rome, as the scene of his permanent residence and martyrdom, claimed the undoubted succession to almost monarchical supremacy.

Siege and Capture of Rome by Alaric.

That which might have appeared the most fatal blow to Roman greatness, as dissolving the spell of Roman empire, the capture, the conflagration, the plunder, the depopulation of Rome by the barbarian Goths, tended directly to establish and strengthen the spiritual supremacy of Rome. It was pagan Rome, the Babylon of sensuality, pride, and idolatry which fell before the triumphant Alaric; the Goths were the instruments of divine vengeance against paganism, which lingered in this its last stronghold. Christianity hastened to disclaim all interest, all sympathy in the fate of the "harlot that sat on the seven hills." Paganism might seem rashly to accept this desperate issue, girding itself for one final effort, and proclaiming, that as Rome had brought ruin on her own head by abandoning her gods, so her gods had for ever abandoned the unfaithful capital. The eternal city was manifestly approaching one of the epochs in her eternity. Three times during the first ten years of the fifth century and of the pontificate of Innocent, the first time under Alaric, the second under Rhadagaisus, the third again under Alaric, the barbarians crossed the Alps with overwhelming forces. Twice the valour and military abilities of one man, Stilicho, diverted the storm from the walls of Rome. In his first expedition Alaric, after his defeat at Pollentia,[n] endeavoured to throw himself upon the capital. He was recalled by the skilful movements of Stilicho, to suffer a final discomfiture under the walls of Verona. The poet commemorates the victories of Stilicho, the triumph of Honorius in Rome for these victories. In the splendid verses on the ovation of Honorius, it is no wonder that Pope Innocent finds no place. Claudian maintains his invariable and total silence as to the existence of Christianity. From his royal mansion

Battle of Pollentia. 400 to 403.

[n] Gibbon, c. xxx.

on the Palatine Honorius looks down on no more glorious sight than the temples of his ancestors, which crowd the Forum in their yet inviolable majesty; the eye is dazzled and confounded with the blaze of their bronzed columns and their roofs of gold; and with their statues which studded the skies: they are the household gods of the emperor. That the emperor worshipped other gods, or was ruled by other priests, appears from no one word.[o] The Jove of the Capitol might seem still the tutelar god of Rome. Claudian had wound up his poem on the Gothic war, in which he equals the victory of Pollentia with that of Marius over the Cimbrians; he ends with that solemn admonition, "Let the frantic barbarians learn hence respect for Rome."

But three years after, the terrible Rhadagaisus, at the head of an enormous force of mingled barbarians, swept over the whole North of Italy, and encamped before the walls of Florence. Rhadagaisus was a pagan; he sacrificed daily to some deity, whom the Latin writers call by the name of Jove. The party at Rome, attached to their ancient worship, are accused of having contemplated with more than secret joy the approach of, it might seem, the irresistible barbarian. They did this, notwithstanding his terrible threats that he would sacrifice the senate of Rome on the altars of the gods which delight in human blood. The common enmity to Christianity, according to St. Augustine, quenched the love of their country, their proud attachment to Rome. But God himself, by the unexpected discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, crushed their guilty hopes, and rescued Rome from the public restoration of paganism. A.D. 405.

The consummate generalship of Stilicho,[p] by which he gradually enclosed the vast forces of Rhadagaisus among the mountains in the neighbourhood of Florence, himself on

[o] "Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum
Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis
Cernere Tarpeiâ pendentes rupe Gigantas,
Cælatasque fores, mediisque volantia signa
Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis.
Acies stupet igne metalli,
Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.
Agnoscisne tuos, Princeps venerande, Penates?"
de VI. Cons. Hon. 43, 53.

Compare on Claudian note in Hist. of Christianity.

[p] Gibbon, loc. cit., will furnish the authorities.

the ridge of Fæsulæ, till they died off by famine and disease, was utterly incomprehensible to his age. Christianity took to itself the whole glory of Stilicho, the relief of Florence, the dispersion and reduction to captivity of the barbaric forces, and the death of Rhadagaisus, who was ordered to summary execution. A vision of St. Ambrose had predicted the relief of Florence, and nothing less than the immediate succour of God, or of his Apostles, could account for the unexpected victory: and this strong religious feeling no doubt mingled with the common infatuation which seized all parties. Rome, it was thought, with a feeble emperor at a distance, with few troops, and those mostly barbarians, was safe in the majesty of her name and the prescriptive awe of mankind. Christ, or her tutelar Apostles, who had revealed the discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, had protected, and would to the end protect, Christian Rome against all pagan invaders, baffle the treasonable sympathy, and disperse the sacrilegious prayers, of those who, true to the ancient religion, were false to the real greatness of Rome. So often as heathen forces should menace the temples, not of the Capitoline Jove, or those yet uncleansed from the pollutions of their idolatries, but those, if less splendid, more holy fanes protected by the relics of Apostles and Martyrs, Rome would witness, as she had already witnessed, the triumph of her Christian emperor, the consecration of the spoils of the defeated barbarians on the altars of St. Paul, St. Peter, and of Christ.[q]

Disgrace and death of Stilicho.

The sacrifice of Stilicho[r] to the dark intrigues of the court of Ravenna was the last fatal sign of this pride and security. Both Christian and pagan writers combine to load the memory of Stilicho with charges manifestly intended to exculpate the court of Honorius from the guilt and folly of his disgrace, his surrender by a Christian bishop after he had sought, himself a Christian, sanctuary at the altar of the church

[q] Paulinus in vit. Ambrosii, c. 50. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, v. 23. Orosius, vii. 37.

[r] Stilicho was married to Serena, the sister of Honorius. Honorius had married in succession Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho.

of Ravenna, and his perfidious execution. The Christians accuse him of a design to depose the emperor, who was both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law, and to elevate his own heir Eucherius to the Imperial throne. Eucherius, it is asserted, but with no proof, and with all probability against it, was a pagan; the public restoration of paganism, as the religion of the Empire, was to be the first act of the new dynasty.[s] The ungrateful pagans seem to have been ignorant of this magnificent scheme in their favour; they too brand Stilicho with the name of traitor, and ascribe to his perfidious dealings with Alaric the final ruin of Rome.[t] They hated him as the enemy, the despoiler of their religion; as having robbed the temples of their treasures, burned the Sibylline books, stripped from the doors of the Capitol the plates of gold. Stilicho knew the weakness as well as the strength of Rome; that may have been but wise and necessary policy, in order, by timely concession and tribute under the honourable name of boon or largess, to keep the formidable barbarian beyond the frontiers of Italy, which may have seemed treasonable degradation to the haughty court, blind to its own impotence.[u] The death of Stilicho was the signal for the reappearance of Alaric again in arms in the centre of Italy. His pretext for this second invasion is the violation of the treaties entered into by Stilicho. At all events, the unanswerable testimony to the abilities of Stilicho, if not to his fidelity, is that which seemed to be the immediate, inevitable consequence of his disgrace and execution. No sooner was Stilicho dead, than Rome lay open to the barbarian conqueror. Unopposed, almost without a skirmish, laughing to scorn the slow and inefficient preparations of the emperor, and of Olympius, who ruled the emperor, and who had misguided him to the ruin of Stilicho, Alaric advanced from the Alps to the walls of Rome. The first act of defence adopted by the senate of Rome was the

Alaric's second invasion.

[s] Orosius, vii. 38.

[t] So Rutilius Numatianus, who hated Christianity—

"Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis iniquum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.
Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ante timeri,
Immisit Latiæ barbara tela neci."
Rutil. Itin. ii. 41.

[u] Compare Gibbon, c. xxx.

judicial murder of Serena, the widow of Stilicho. She was accused of a design to betray the city to the Goth. Both parties seem to have consented to this deed. The heathens remembered that when Theodosius the Great had struck the deadly blow against the rites and the temples of paganism, by prohibiting all public expenditure on heathen A.D. 408. ceremonies, Serena had stripped a costly necklace from the statue of Rhea, the most ancient and venerable of Rome's goddesses, and herself ostentatiously wore the precious spoil; that neck was now given up to strangulation, a righteous and appropriate punishment for her impiety. The historian seems to intimate[x] that the Romans were surprised that the death of Serena produced no effect on the remorseless Goth. The siege of Rome

Siege of Rome, A.D. 408.

was formed; the vast population, accustomed to live, the wealthy in luxury perhaps to no great extent moderated by Christianity, the poor by gratuitous distributions at the expense of the public or of the rich, to which Christian charity had now come in aid,[y] were suddenly reduced to the worst extremities of famine. The public distributions were diminished to one half, to one third. The heaps of dead bodies, which there wanted space to bury, produced a pestilence. In vain the Senate endeavoured to negotiate an honourable capitulation. Alaric scorned alike their money, their despair, their pride. When they spoke of their immense population, he burst out into laughter,—"The thicker the hay, the easier it is mown." On his demand of an exorbitant ransom, the Senate humbly inquired, "What, then, do you leave us?" "Your lives!" replied the insulting Goth.

During this first siege Innocent was in Rome. The strange story of the desperate proposition to deliver the city by the magical arts of certain Etruscan diviners, who

Etruscan diviners.

had power, it was supposed, to call down and direct the lightnings of heaven, appears, in different forms, in the pagan and Christian historians.[z] Innocent

[x] Zosimus—Sozomen, ix. 6.

[y] Læta, the wife of Gratian, and her mother, were distinguished by their abundant charities, which at least mitigated the sufferings of multitudes.

[z] Compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. 181. Zosimus, v. 41. Sozomen, ix. 6.

himself is said, by the heathen Zosimus, to have assented to the idolatrous ceremony. If this be true, it is possible that the mind of the Christian Prelate may have been so entirely unhinged by the terrors of the siege, and the dreadful sufferings of the people, that he may have yielded to any hope, however wild, of averting the ruin. It is possible, though less probable, that he may have known or supposed the Etruscans to be possessed of some skilful, and by no means supernatural, means of producing apparent wonders,[a] which might awe the ignorant barbarians, and of which the use might be justified by the dreadful crisis; and if these arts were thought supernatural, it was not for him to expose, at least for the present, the useful delusion. At all events, to judge the conduct of Innocent, we must throw ourselves completely back into the terror and affliction, the confusion and prostration of that disastrous time. The whole history is obscure and contradictory. The Christian writer asserts that the ceremony did take place, but that the Christians (he does not name Innocent) stood aloof from the profane and ineffectual rite. The heathen aver, that the Senate, after grave deliberation, refused to sanction its public performance, and that, in fact, it did not take place. The barbarian, at length, condescended to accept a ransom, in some proportion to the wealth of the city— 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, four thousand silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3000 pounds of pepper. To make up the deficiency of the precious metals, the heathen temples, to the horror of that party, were despoiled; the time-honoured statues of gods melted to make up the amount demanded by the barbarian. The last fatal sign and omen of the departure of Roman greatness was, that the statue of Fortitude, or Virtue, was thrown into the common mass.[b]

Capitulation.

Alaric retired from Rome, his army increased by multitudes of slaves from the city and the neighbourhood, who,

[a] See Eusebe Salverte, on the knowledge possessed by the ancients in conducting lightning.—Sciences Occultes.

[b] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχώνευσάν τινα τῶν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένων, ὧν ἦν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐιρτούτεμ· οὗτερ διαφθαρέντος, ὅσα τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦν καὶ ἀρίστης παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέσβη. . . . Zosimus, v. 41.

it is said, to the number of 40,000, had found refuge in his camp. The infatuated pride, the insincerity, the treachery of the court of Ravenna, rendered impracticable all negotiations for peace. The minister Olympius, the chief agent in the assassination of Stilicho, has found favour, of which he seems to have been utterly unworthy, from Christian writers, on account of some letters addressed to him by St. Augustine. Even his fall produced no great change. Honorius, indeed, seems to have occupied his time at this crisis in framing edicts against Jews and heretics, and other decrees, as if for a peaceful and extensive empire. Under Olympius, he had promulgated the Imperial rescript, which deprived the heathen temples of their last revenue; it was confiscated for the use of the devout soldiers. The statues of the gods were ordered to be thrown down; the temples in the cities were seized for public uses, others were to be destroyed; the banquets (epulæ) prohibited.[c] But he was compelled to repeal a law which deprived him of the services of all heathens. Generides, a valiant and able pagan, was permitted to resume the military belt, and to take the command of part of the Imperial forces. A second time Alaric appeared before Rome. He seized upon the port of Ostia, and this cut off at once almost all the supplies of the city.[d] Rome opened her gates, and Alaric set up a pageant emperor, Attalus, as a rival to the emperor in Ravenna. The Christians beheld the elevation of Attalus, a pagan, who submitted to Arian baptism, but openly attempted to restore the party of paganism, with undisguised aversion. Lampadius, the Senator, at the head of this party, was Prætorian Præfect, Tertullus Consul. Tertullus boldly declared that to the Consulate he should add the High Priesthood.[e] The pagan historian describes the universal joy of Rome at the elevation of such just and noble magistrates. The Christians[f] looked eagerly to the court of Ravenna. Alaric was encamped between the Christian and pagan cities, between Ravenna and Rome.

Attalus Emperor. A.D. 409.

[c] This law is dated the 17th of the calends of December, 408. Templorum detrahantur annonæ et rem annonariam jubent, expensis devotissimorum militum profuturæ, &c. Compare Beugnot, ii.p. 49, *et seqq.* Cod. Theodos. xvi. 10, 19.

[d] As usual, the dealers in grain were accused of hoarding their stores, in order to possess themselves of all the remaining wealth of the city.

[e] Sozom. ix. 9.

[f] Oros. vii. 42.

The feeble government of Attalus had to encounter an enemy even more formidable than the Christians. The Count Heraclian closed the ports of Africa: a famine even more terrible than during the former siege, and even that had reduced men to the most loathsome and abominable food, afflicted the enfeebled and diminished population. A strange and revolting anecdote illustrates at once Roman manners and this dire calamity. The Romans, though they had no bread, had still their Circensian games. In the midst of the excitement, the ears of the Emperor were assailed with a wild cry—Fix the tariff for human flesh.[g] All these calamities the Christians ascribed to the restoration of heathen rites.

Attalus, at the word of his Gothic master, descended from his throne, and sank back to his former insignificance. But Rome, when Alaric appeared a third time under its walls, prepared to close her gates, and to act on the defensive, (the Emperor Honorius had received the scanty succour of six cohorts from the East, and Rome was in frantic hope of rescue from Ravenna). Weakness or treachery baffled this desperate, if courageous, determination. At the dead of night, the Salarian gate was opened; the morning beheld Rome in the possession of the conqueror; but the conqueror, though a barbarian and a heretic, was a Christian. Over the fall of Rome, history might seem, in horror, to have dropped a veil.[h] Third siege of Rome.

However the first appalling intelligence of this event shook the Roman world to the centre; and the fearful scene of pillage, violation, and destruction by fire and sword, was imagined to surpass in its horrors everything recorded in profane or sacred history, yet the shock passed away; and Rome quietly assumed her second, her Christian empire. When the first stunning tidings of the fall of the Imperial City reached Jerome in his retirement in Palestine, even some time after, when he had Capture of Rome. A.D. 410, Aug. 24.

[g] Zosimus inserts the words in Latin —Pone pretium carni humanæ. The price of bread, as of all other articles, was fixed by the government. Zosimus, vi. 11.

[h] Rome may be said to have fallen without an historian. Her ruin was indeed described by the Greek Zosimus, but his sixth book is lost. Orosius cannot be dignified by the name—his work is but a summary of Augustine's City of God.

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held intercourse with fugitives from Rome, the capture represents itself to his vivid fancy as one dark and terrific mass of havoc and ruin. It was accompanied by no mitigating or relieving circumstances; by none of those striking incidents of Christian piety and mercy, which, in the pages of Augustine and Orosius, are thrown across the general gloom. The sudden horror, as well as consternation, joined with the gloomy temperament of Jerome, to deepen the darkness of the scene.[1] He asserts that the famine had already so thinned the population, that few remained in the city to be taken. He heaps together the awful passages in the Old Testament, on the capture of Jerusalem and other eastern cities, and the noble lines of Virgil on the sack of Troy, as but feebly descriptive of the night in which fell the Moab of the West. Nor can it be supposed that, whatever the disposition or even the orders of Alaric, the capture of a city so wealthy, so luxurious, so populous, by a vast and ill-disciplined host of barbarians, at least at their first irruption, could be more than a wild tumult of fury, licence, plunder, bloodshed, and conflagration. Multitudes of that host, no doubt, still held their old warlike Teutonic faith. In those who were called Christians the ferocity of the triumphant soldier was hardly mitigated by the softening influences of the Gospel. The forty thousand slaves said to have joined the army of Alaric, brought their revenge and their local and personal knowledge of the richest palaces, and of the most opulent families, which would furnish the most attractive victims to lust or to pillage. But the calamities which involved in ruin almost the whole pagan population, and the palaces of the ancient families, which still adhered to their ancestral gods, are lost in oblivion; while Christianity has boastfully, or gratefully, preserved those exceptional incidents, in which through her influence, and in her behalf, the

[1] Terribilis de Occidente rumor affertur....—Hæret vox et singultus intercipiunt verba dictantis. Capitur urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem, imo fame perit, antequam gladio, et vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt. Epist. xciv. Marcellæ Epitaph. Yet, in the same letter, he writes to Marcella—Sit mihi fas audita loqui; imo a sanctis viris visa narrare, qui *interfuere præsentes*.—*Ibid.*

Nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus ejus. Hieronym. i. 121, ad Principiam.

common disaster was rebuked, checked, mitigated. The last feeble murmurs of paganism arraigned Christianity as the cause of the desertion of the city by her ancient and mighty gods, and, therefore, of her inevitable fate. Christianity was now so completely the mistress of the human mind, as to assert that it was, indeed, the power of her God—her justly provoked and righteously avenging God—which had brought to its final close the Gentile sovereignty of Rome. Nothing pagan had escaped, but that which found shelter under Christianity. For Alaric, though an Arian, was a Christian. His conduct was strongly contrasted with what might have been feared from the heathen Rhadagaisus, if God had abandoned Rome to his fury. The Goth had been throughout under the awful control of Christianity.[k] He is said to have issued a proclamation, which, while it abandoned the guilty and luxurious city to plunder, commanded regard for human life; and especially the most religious respect for the Churches of the Apostles. In obedience to these commands, and under the especial control of the Almighty, among the smoking ruins, the plundered houses and temples, the families desolated by the sword, or by outrages worse than death, the Christian edifices alone commanded at least some reverence and security. Every where else was promiscuous massacre, peace and safety alone in the churches. The heathens themselves fled to these, the only places of refuge; they took shelter, in their terror and despair, under the altars which they despised or hated. The more solid and majestic structures of paganism would, no doubt, defy the injuries which might be wrought by barbarians, more intent on plunder than destruction, but their most hal-

Extinction of paganism.

Influence of Christianity.

[k] The great Christian argument is summed up in this noble passage of Augustine:—

Quicquid igitur vastationis, trucidationis, depredationis, concremationis, afflictionis in istâ recentissimâ Romanâ clade commissum est: facit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitatâ rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ implendæ populo, cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi nulli, nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum, quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est. Augustin. Tract. de excid. Urbis.

lowed sanctuaries were violated. Before the Christian Churches alone rapacity, and lust, and cruelty were arrested, and stood abashed. When the conflagration raged, as it did in some parts of the city, amid private houses, palaces, or temples, some of the sacred edifices of the Christians might be enveloped in the flames. But the more important churches—those of St. Peter and St. Paul—were respected by the spreading fires, as well as by the infuriated soldiery.[m] There the obedient sword of the conqueror paused in its work of death, and even his cupidity was overawed.[n] Of all the temple treasuries, the public or private hoards of precious metals, which the owners were compelled to betray by the most excruciating tortures, the jewels, the plate, the spoils of centuries of conquest, the accumulated plunder of provinces, only the sacred vessels and ornaments of Christian worship, remained inviolate. It was said that sacred vessels found without the precincts of the Church were borne with reverential decency into the sanctuary. Of this Orosius relates a remarkable and particular history. A fierce soldier entered in quest of plunder into the dwelling of an aged Christian virgin. He demanded, in courteous terms, the surrender of her treasures. She exposed to his view many vessels of gold, of great size, weight, and beauty; vessels of which the soldier knew neither the use nor the name. "These," she said, "are the property of the Apostle St. Peter. Take them, if you dare, and answer for thy act to God. A defenceless woman, I cannot protect them from your violence; my soul, therefore, is free from sin." The soldier stood awe-struck. A message was sent to Alaric, and orders were instantly dispatched that the virgin and her holy treasures should be safely conducted to the Church of the Apostle. The procession (for the virgin's dwelling was far distant from the Church) was led through the long and wondering streets. The people broke out into hymns of adoration, and amid the tumult of disorder

[m] Augustin. de Civ. Dei, ii. 1. a. 7. Yet this was unknown to Jerome. He says, In cineres ac favillas sacræ quondam ecclesiæ conciderunt. Epist. xciii.

[n] Perhaps the remote and even extramural situation of these churches might tend to their security.

and ruin, the tranquil pomp pursued its course; the name of Christ rose swelling above the wild dissonance of the captured city. Even more lawless passions yielded to the holy control. In the loathsome scenes of violation, the chastity of Christian virgins alone—at least, in some instances—found respect from the lustful barbarian.[o] There is an instance of a beautiful virgin who thus preserved her honour. Indignant at her resistance, the young soldier into whose power she had fallen, drew his sword and slightly wounded her. Though bleeding, she calmly held out her neck to the stroke of death. The soldier, though an Arian, observes the Catholic writer, could not but admire her fidelity to Christ her spouse. He led her to the Church, and, with a gift of six pounds of gold, surrendered her to those who were on guard over the sanctuary.[p] Marcella, the friend of Jerome, did not escape so easily the only dangers to which, on account of her age, she was exposed. As he had heard from eye-witnesses of the scene, it was not till she had been beaten and scourged,[q] to compel her to reveal her secret treasures, treasures long before expended in charity, that her admirable courage and patience enforced the respect of the spoiler, and induced him to lead her to the asylum of the Church of St. Paul.[r]

Protection of females.

[o] Demetrias escaped, according to St. Jerome. Dudum inter barbaras tremuisti manus; aviæ et matris sinu et palliis tegebaris. Vidisti te captivam, et pudicitiam tuam non tuæ potestatis: horruisti truces hostium vultus: raptas virgines Dei gemitu tacite conspexisti. Hieronym. Epist. 8. Compare Augustin. de Civ. Dei, i. 16.

[p] Sozomen, H. E. ix. 10.

[q] Cæsam fustibus flagellisque, aiunt te non sensisse tormenta. Hieronym. Epist. loc. cit.

[r] The most extraordinary passage relating to the sack of Rome is in St. Jerome's next letter. All the horrors on which he has dwelt,—the capture of Rome, the massacre, rape, pillage, and conflagration,—are not merely *mitigated*, but amply *compensated* to Rome and to the world by the profession of virginity made by Demetrias. It was as great a triumph as the discomfiture of the Gothic army would have been. We can neither understand Jerome nor his age without considering these strange sentences. Her vows of chastity were against the wishes of her whole family; the greater, therefore, their merit. Hence "invenisse eam quod præstaret generi, quod *Romanæ urbis cineres mitigaret.*" After describing the rejoicing of Africa, he proceeds: Tunc lugubres vestes Italia mutavit, et *semirutæ urbis Romæ mœnia, pristinum in parte recepere fulgorem, propitium sibi existimantes Deum, sic alumnæ conversione perfectâ.* Putares extinctam Gothorum manum, et colluviem perfugarum et servorum, Domini desuper intonantis fulmine cecidisse. Non sic post Trebiam, Thrasymenum, et Cannas, in quibus locis Romanorum exercituum cæsa sunt millia, Marcelli primum apud Nolam prælio, se populus Romanus erexit, &c. &c. Jerome has some notion that he is surpassing Tully and Demosthenes, whose eloquence would be unequal to this wonderful event. Compare

Innocent absent from Rome.

Innocent was happily absent from Rome during the last siege and sack of the city. After the second retreat of Alaric from before the walls, he had accompanied a deputation to Ravenna, to seek, and seek in vain, from the powerless Emperor, some protection for A.D. 409. the capital. He did not return, and the fate of the city was left to the resolutions of the Senate. He thus escaped the horrors of that fatal night, and the three days pillage of the city. If his presence did not contribute to the comparative security of the Christians, neither did his holy person endure the peril of exposure to insult, or the blind and undiscriminating fury of a heathen soldiery. Innocent returned to a city, if in some parts ruined and desolate, now entirely Christian; the ancient religion was buried under the ruins. Many of the noblest families of Rome were reduced to slavery by the Goths; some had anticipated the capture of the city by a shameful flight: many more abandoned for ever their doomed and hopeless country. Alaric, and his host, satiated with three days plunder, at the end of six days broke up from Rome to ravage the rich and defenceless cities of southern Italy. The estates, which had so long maintained the enormous luxury of the Roman patricians, were ravaged or confiscated: whole families swept away into bondage. Without the city, as within, almost all that remained of eminent and famous names, the ancestral houses, which kept up the tradition of the glory of the republic, or the wealth of the Empire, sank into obscurity or total oblivion. The fugitives from Rome were found in all parts of the world,[s] and among these no doubt were almost all the more distinguished heathens,[t] who, no longer combining into a powerful party, no longer held together by the presence of the old

with this letter, the Epistle addressed to the same Demetrias, there is little doubt, by no less a person than the heresiarch Pelagius. Pelagius, in the spirit of his age, is an admirer of virginity. But throughout the Epistle there is a singular calmness as well as elegance of style, which forcibly contrasts with the passionate hyperboles of Jerome. Pelagius, too, alludes to the sack of Rome, and urges it as an image of the last day. Eadem omnibus imago mortis, nisi quia magis eam timebant illi, quibus fuerat vita jucundior. Si ita mortales timemus hostes, et humanam manum, cum clangore terribili tuba intonare de cælo cæperit, &c. In Oper. Hieronym. v. p. 29.

[s] Nulla est regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat. — Hieronym., Epist. xcviii.

[t] Compare Prefat. ad Ezekiel.

ancestral temples, or by the household gods of their race and family, reduced to poor and insignificant outcasts from descendants and representatives of the noblest houses in Rome, gradually melted into the general Christian population of the empire. Those, whom Jerome beheld at Bethlehem, were doubtless Christians; but the whole coasts, not only of Italy and its islands, but of Africa, Egypt, and the East, swarmed with these unfortunate exiles.[u] Carthage was full of those who, to the great indignation of Augustine, nowithstanding this visible sign of Almighty wrath, crowded the theatres, and raised turbulent factions concerning rival actors; they carried with them no doubt, and readily promulgated that hostile sentiment towards Christianity, which attributed all the calamities of the times, consummated in the sack of Rome, to the new religion. It was this last desperate remonstrance of paganism which called forth Augustine's City of God, and the brief and more lively perhaps, but meagre and superficial work of Orosius. Babylon has fallen, and fallen for ever; the City of God, at least the centre and stronghold of the City of God, is in Christian Rome.

Dispersion of pagans.

Nor did Innocent return to rule over a desert. The wonder, which is expressed at the rapid restoration of Rome, shows that the general consternation and awe, at the tidings of the capture, had greatly exaggerated the amount both of damage, and of depopulation. Some of the palaces of the nobles, who had fled from the city, or perished in the siege, may have remained in ruins; above all the temples, now without funds to repair them from their confiscated estates, from the alienated government, or from the munificence of wealthy worshippers, would be left exposed to every casual injury, and fall into irremediable dilapidation, unless seized and appropriated to its own uses by the triumphant faith. Now probably began

Restoration of Rome.

[u] Honorius, in the meantime, was still issuing sanguinary edicts against heretics. Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus suos hæreticæ superstitionis obrepserant, sciant omnes sanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se pœnâ et proscriptionis et sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum execrandâ sceleris sui temeritate tentaverint. To this law, addressed to Heraclian, count of Africa, (Cod. Theodos. c. 51, de Haeret.) Baronius ascribes the speedy deliverance of the city from Alaric, so highly was it approved by God! Sub ann. 410.

the slow conversion of the heathen fanes into Christian churches.[x] It took many more sieges, many more irruptions of barbaric conquerors, to destroy the works of centuries in the capital of the world's wealth and power. If deserted temples were left to decay, churches rose; palaces found new lords; the humbler buildings, which are for the most part the prey of ruin and conflagration, are speedily repaired; it is hardly less labour to demolish than to build solid, massy and substantial habitations; and fire, which probably did not rage to any great extent, was the only destructive agent which, during Alaric's occupation, endangered the grandeur or majesty of the city.

Greatness of Bishop.

If Christian Rome rose thus out of the ruin of the pagan city, the Bishop of Rome rose in proportionate grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions and scattered society. Saved, as doubtless it seemed, by the especial protection of God from all participation, even from the sight of this tremendous, this ignominious disaster, according to the phrase of the times, as Lot out of the fires of Sodom,[y] he alone could lift up his head, A.D. 411. if with sorrow without shame. Honorius hid himself in Ravenna, nor did the Emperor ever again, for any long time, make his residence at Rome. With the religion expired all the venerable titles of the religion, the Great High Priests and Flamens, the Auspices and Augurs. On the Pontifical throne sat the Bishop of Rome, awaiting the time when he should ascend also the Imperial throne; or, at least, if without the name, possess the substance of the Imperial power, and stand almost as much above the shadowy form of the old republican dignities, which still retained their titles, and some municipal authority, as the Cæsars themselves. The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of power. There could be no question that from this time the greatest man in Rome was the Pope; he alone was invested with permanent and real power; he alone possessed all the attributes of supremacy, the reverence, it

[x] In Rome this was rare, till the late conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian church. Few churches stand even on the sites of ancient temples. The Basilica seems to have been preferred for Christian worship.

[y] Orosius.

was his own fault, if not the love of the people. He had a sacred indefeasible title; authority unlimited, because undefined; wealth, which none dared to usurp, which multitudes lavishly contributed to increase by free-will offerings; he is, in one sense, a Cæsar, whose apotheosis has taken place in his lifetime, environed by his Prætorian guards, his ecclesiastics, on whose fidelity and obedience he may, when once seated on the throne, implicitly rely; whose edicts are gradually received as law; and who has his spiritual Prætors and Proconsuls in almost every part of Western Christendom.

CHAPTER II.

PELAGIANISM.

The Pelagian question agitated the West during the later years of Innocent's pontificate. This has been the great interminable controversy of Latin, of more than Latin, of all Western Christianity. The nature of the Godhead and of the Christ was the problem of the speculative East: that of man, his state after the fall, the freedom or bondage of his will, the motive principle of his actions, that of the more active West. The East might seem to dismiss this whole dispute with almost contemptuous indifference. Though Pelagius himself, and his follower Celestius, visited Palestine and obtained the suffrages of a provincial council in their favour; though from his cell near Bethlehem, Jerome mingled in the fray with all his native violence,—there the controversy died rapidly away, leaving hardly a record in Grecian theology, none whatever in Greek ecclesiastical history.[a]

Pelagian controversy.

So completely, however, thoughout the Roman world is Christianity now an important part of human affairs, as to become a means of intercourse and communication between the remotest provinces. On the one hand new, and, as they are esteemed, heretical opinions are propagated, usually by their authors or by their partisans, from the most distant quarters, and so spread throughout Christendom; on the other hand, the Christian world is leagued together in every part to suppress these proscribed opinions. A Briton, Pelagius, by some accounts two Britons, Pelagius and Celestius, leave their home at the extremity of the known earth, perhaps the borders of Wales, the uttermost part of Britain, to disturb the whole Christian world. Pelagius is said to have been a monk, and though no doubt bound by vows of celibacy, yet was

Pelagius.

[a] Walch has observed, that none of the Greek historians, neither Socrates, Sozomen nor Theodoret notice the Pelagian controversy. Ketzer-Geschichte, iv. p. 531.

under the discipline of no community. He arrives in Rome, from Rome he passes to Africa, from Africa to Palestine. Everywhere he preaches his doctrines, obtains proselytes, or is opposed by inflexible adversaries. The fervid religion of the African Churches repudiated with one voice the colder and more philosophic reasonings of Pelagius:[b] they submitted to the ascendancy of Augustine, and threw themselves into his views with all their unextinguishable ardour.

But in the East the glowing writings of Augustine were not understood, probably not known;[c] his predestinarian notions never seem to have been congenial to the Christianity of the Greeks. In Palestine, however, Pelagius was encountered by two implacable adversaries, Heros and Lazarus, bishops of Gaul.[d] It is probable, indeed, that the persecution was to be traced to the cell of Jerome,[e] with whose vehement and superstitious temperament his doctrines clashed as violently as with those of Augustine. Pelagius was arraigned before a synod of fourteen prelates, at Diospolis (the ancient Lydda), and, to the astonishment and discomfiture of his adversaries, solemnly acquitted of all heretical tenets.

Pelagius in the East.

Council of Diospolis.

[b] My history of the earlier period of Christianity entered into the general character of Pelagianism, especially as connected with the character and writings of Augustine. I consider it at present chiefly in its relation to Latin Christianity.—Hist. of Christianity, iii. pp. 264, 270.

[c] Except by Jerome, who, however, received his writings irregularly and with much delay.—The ordinary correspondence between the provinces seems now to have been slow and precarious. Nothing, writes Augustine to Jerome, grieves me so much as your distance from me—"ut vix possim meas dare, vel recipere tuas litteras, per intervalla non dierum non mensium, sed aliquot annorum.—August. Epist. xxviii. Were any of his works translated into Greek?

[d] Orosius too was in Palestine, it should seem, in search of relics. He had the good fortune to carry off the body of the protomartyr St. Stephen. Compare Baronius, sub ann.

[e] The letter to Demetrias, in the works of St. Jerome, seems admitted to be a genuine writing of Pelagius. That both Pelagius and his antagonist Jerome should have addressed an epistle to the same Demetrias suggests the suspicion of some strong personal rivalry. They were striving, as it were, for the command of this distinguished and still probably wealthy female.

The whole tenor of the letter of Pelagius confirms the position, that the opinions of Pelagius had no connexion with monastic enthusiasm, and did not arise out of that pride "of good works" which may belong to the consciousness of extraordinary austerities. (Compare Neander, Christliche Kirche.) Pelagius arrives at his conclusions by a calm, it might seem cold, philosophy. Excepting as to the praise of virginity, the greater part of the letter might have been written by an ancient Academic, or by a modern metaphysical inquirer. Jerome traces the origin of Pelagianism to the Greek, particularly the Stoic philosophy. He quotes Tertullian's saying, Philosophi patriarchæ hæreticorum. — Hieronym. Epist. ad Ctesiphont.

It is asserted that the fathers of Diospolis were imposed upon by the subtle and plausible dialectics of Pelagius. Considering, indeed, that his accusers, the Gallic bishops (neither of whom personally appeared), and his third adversary, Orosius, the friend and disciple of Augustine, only spoke Latin, that the Palestinian bishops only understood Greek (perhaps imperfectly any language but their own vernacular Syrian), and that Pelagius had the command of both languages; that these questions, which demanded the most exquisite nicety of expression and the strictest accuracy of definition, must have been carried on by the clumsy means of interpreters,—the council of Diospolis, to the dispassionate inquirer, cannot carry much weight. The usual consequences of religious controversies in those days, and in those regions, were not slow to appear. Jerome was attacked in his retirement, his disciples maltreated by their triumphant adversaries. Pelagius himself seems entirely exempted from any concurrence in these lawless proceedings; but his fanatic followers (and even his calm tenets in the East could for once kindle fanaticism) are accused of perpetrating every crime, pillage, murder, conflagration, on the peaceful disciples of Jerome, especially on some of the noble Roman ladies who shared his solitude.[f]

While ignorance, or indifference, or chance, or personal hostility to the asserters of anti-Pelagian opinions decided the question in the East, the West demanded a more solemn and authoritative adjudication in this absorbing controversy. By the decrees of the Council of

[f] Innocent Epist. ad Aurel. et ad Johannem, Episcop. Hierosolym. These revengeful violences against Jerome appear to me better evidence that he was at least supposed to be the head of the faction opposed to Pelagius, than the reasons alleged by P. Daniel, Hist. du Concile de Palestine, and Walch, p. 398. The strong expressions as to these acts are from Innocent's letter. Direptiones, cædes, incendia, omne facinus extremæ dementiæ, generosissimæ sanctæ virgines deploraverunt in locis ecclesiæ tuæ perpetrasse diabolum, *nomen enim hominis causamque* reticuerunt. — Apud Labbe, Concil., ii. p. 1315. If the odious Pelagius had been the man, they would hardly have suppressed his name. And it must be acknowledged that Jerome suffered only the natural results of his own principles. In his third dialogue against the Pelagians he introduces their advocate as scarcely daring to speak out, lest he should be stoned: Statim in me populorum lapides conjicias, et quem viribus non potes, voluntate interficias. To this the Catholic rejoins, Ille hæreticum interficit, qui hæreticum esse patitur.—Hieronym. Oper., iv. 2. p. 544.

Diospolis, Africa and the East were at direct issue; and where should the Africans seek the arbiter, or the powerful defender of their opinions, but at Rome? Constantinople, and Alexandria, and Antioch, took no interest in these questions, or were occupied, especially the two former, by their own religious and political quarrels. The African Church, when such a cause was on the issue, stood not on her independence. As a Western monk, Pelagius was amenable, in some degree, to the metropolitan authority of the Bishop of Rome. Both parties seemed at least to acquiesce in the appeal to Innocent: the event could not be doubtful in such an age and before the representative of Latin Christianity.

Origin of controversy.

All great divergencies of religion, where men are really religious (and this seems acknowledged as to Pelagius himself, and still more as to some of his semi-Pelagian followers, Julianus of Eclana and the Monastic Cassian), arise from the undue dominance of some principle or element in our religious nature. This controversy was in truth the strife between two such innate principles, which philosophy despairs of reconciling, on which the New Testament has not pronounced with clearness or precision. The religious sentiment, which ever assumes to itself the exclusive name and authority of religion, is not content without feeling, or at least supposing itself to feel, the direct, immediate agency of God upon the soul of man. This seems inseparable from the divine Sovereignty, even from Providential government, which it looks like impiety to limit, and of which it is hard to conceive the self-limitation.[g] Must not God's grace, of its nature, be irresistible? What can bound or fetter Omnipotence? This seems the first principle, admitted in prayer, in all intercourse between the soul of man and the Infinite: it is the life-spring of religious enthusiasm, the vital energy, not of fanaticism only, but of zeal.[h] On the other hand, there is an equally intuitive

[g] The absolute abandonment of free will seems the highest point of true devotion. Prosperthus writes of Augustine:—

Et dum nulla sibi tribuit bona, fit Deus illi
Omnia, et in sancto regnat Sapientia templo.

[h] Compare this argument in another form (Hist. of Christianity), iii, p. 267.

consciousness (and out of consciousness grows all our knowledge of these things) of the freedom, or self-determining power of the human will. On this depends all morality, and the sense of human responsibility; all conception, except that which is unreasoning and instinctive, of the divine justice and mercy. This is the problem of philosophy; the degree of subservience in the human will to influences external to itself, and in no way self-originated or self-controlled, and to its inward self-determining power.[i] In Christianity it involved not merely the metaphysic nature, but the whole biblical history of man; the fall, and the sin inherited by the race of Adam; the redemption of Christ, and the righteouness communicated to mankind by Christ.

Pelagius came too early for any calm consideration of his doctrines, or any attempt to reconcile the difficulties which he suggested, with the sacred writings. In his age the religious sentiment was at its height, and to the religious sentiment that system was true which brought the soul most strongly and immediately under divine agency. To substitute a law for that direct agency, to interpose in any way between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, was impiety, blasphemy, a degradation of God and of his sole sovereignty. This sentiment was at its height in Western Christendom. In no part had it grown to a passion so overwhelming as in Africa, in no African mind to such absorbing energy as in that of Augustine.

St. Augustine.

Augustine, after the death of Ambrose, was the one great authority in Latin theology: from him was now anxiously expected, if it had not appeared, the great work which was to silence the last desperate remonstrances of paganism, the City of God.[k] His Confessions had become at once the manual of passionate devotion, and the history of the internal struggle of sin and grace in the soul of man. Augustine had maintained great influence at the court of Ravenna: of the ministers of Honorius some were his personal friends, others courted his correspondence. Africa, the only granary, held the power of life and death

[i] Edwards, on the Will throughout, which on this point coincides with the philosophy of Hume.

[k] On the City of God compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. p. 279, 282.

over Italy: and political and religious interests were now inseparably moulded together. But it was probably not so much either the authority or the influence of Augustine, which swayed the mind of Innocent to establish the Augustinian theology as the theory of Western Christianity; it was rather its full coincidence with his own views of Christian truth.

Augustinianism was not merely the expression of the universal Christianity of the age as administering to, as being in itself the more full, fervent, continuous excitement of the religious sentiment, it was also closely allied with the two great characteristic tendencies of Latin Christianity.

Latin Christianity, in its strong sacerdotal system, in its rigid and exclusive theory of the church, at once admitted and mitigated the more repulsive parts of the Augustinian theology. Predestinarianism itself, to those at least within the pale, lost much of its awful terrors. The Church was the predestined assemblage of those to whom and to whom alone, salvation was possible; the Church scrupled not to surrender the rest of mankind to that inexorable damnation entailed upon the human race by the sin of their first parents. As the Church, by the jealous exclusion of all heretics, drew around itself a narrower circle; this startling limitation of the divine mercies was compensated by the great extension of its borders, which now comprehended all other baptized Christians. The only point in this theory at which human nature uttered a feeble remonstrance[m] was the abandonment of infants, who never knew the distinction between good and evil, to eternal fires. The heart of Augustine wrung from his reluctant reason, which trembled at its own inconsistency, a milder damnation in their

Latin Christianity anti-Pelagian. Causes.

[m] Julianus of Eclana put well the insuperable difficulty which has constantly revolted the human mind, when not under the spell of some absorbing religious excitement, against the extreme theory of Augustine and of Calvin. Deus, ais, ipse qui commendat caritatem suam in nobis, qui dilexit nos, et filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis illum tradidit, ipse sic judicat, ipse est nascentium persecutor, ipse pro malâ voluntate æternis ignibus parvulos tradit, quos nec bonam nec malam voluntatem scit habere potuisse. — Apud Augustin. Oper. Imperf. i. 48. Augustine struggles in vain to elude the difficulty. Julianus as well as Pelagius himself strenuously asserted the necessity of infant baptism, not however as giving remission of sins, but as admitting to Christian privileges and blessings.

favour. But some of his more remorseless disciples disclaimed the illogical softness of their master.[n]

Sacerdotal system.

Through the Church alone, and so through the hierarchy alone, man could be secure of that direct agency of God upon his soul, after which it yearned with irrepressible solicitude. The will of man surrendered itself to the clergy, for on them depended its slavery or its emancipation, as far as it was capable of emancipation. In the clergy, divine grace, the patrimony of the Church, was vested, and through them distributed to mankind. Baptism, usually administered by them alone, washed away original sin; the other rites and sacraments of which they were the exclusive ministers, were still conveying, and alone conveying, the influences of the Holy Ghost to the more or less passive soul. This objective and visible form as it were, which was assumed for the inward workings of God upon the mind and heart, by the certitude and security which it seemed to bestow, was so unspeakably consolatory, and relieved, especially the less reflective mind, from so much doubt and anxiety, that mankind was disposed to hail with gladness rather than examine with jealous suspicion these claims of the hierarchy. Thus the Augustinian theology coincided with the tendencies of the age towards the growth of the strong sacerdotal system; and the sacerdotal system reconciled Christendom with the Augustinian theology. But the invariable progress of the human mind, as to this question, is in itself remarkable; and necessary for the full comprehension of Christian history. All established religions subside into Pelagianism, or at least semi-Pelagianism. The interposition of the priest, or the sacrament, or of both, between the direct agency of God and the soul of man, for its own purposes, gradually admits a growing freedom of the will. Conformity to outward rites, obedience to orders or admonitions, every religious act is required on the one hand, as within the self-determining power of the will, and is in itself a more and more conscious exertion of that power. The sacerdotal system, in order that it may censure with more awfulness, and incite with more persuasiveness, admits a greater spontaneity of resistance to evil, and

[n] Compare Hist. of Christ., iii. note, and quotation from Fulgentius.

of inclination to good. It emancipates to a certain extent, that it may rule with a more absolute control. And as it was with Pelagius, so it is with his followers. No Pelagian ever has or ever will work a religious revolution. He who is destined for such a work must have a full conviction that God is acting directly, immediately, consciously, and therefore with irresistible power, upon him and through him. It is because he believes himself, and others believe him to be thus acted upon, that he has the burning courage to undertake, the indomitable perseverance to maintain, the inflexible resolution to die for his religion; so soon as that conviction is deadened, his power is gone. Men no longer acknowledge his mission, he himself has traitorously or timidly abandoned his mission. the voice of God is no longer speaking in his heart; men no longer recognise the voice of God from his lips. The prophet, the inspired teacher, the all but apostle, has now sunk to an ordinary believer. He who is not predestined, who does not declare, who does not believe himself predestined as the author of a great religious movement, he in whom God is not manifestly, sensibly, avowedly working out his pre-established designs, will never be Saint or Reformer.

The transmission of original sin.

But there was another part of the Augustinian theology, which has quietly dropped from it in all its later revivals, yet in his day was an integral, almost the leading doctrine of the system; and falling in, as it did, with the dominant feelings of Christendom, contributed powerfully to its establishment, as the religion of the Church. Augustine was not content to assert original sin, in the strongest language, against Pelagius, but did not scruple to dogmatize as to the mode of its transmission. This was by sexual intercourse,[o] which he asserts in arguments, which the modesty of our present manners will not permit us to discuss, would have been unknown but for the Fall; and was in itself essentially evil,[p] though

[o] The whole argument of the Book de Concupiscentia et de Nuptiis. Intentio igitur hujus libri est ut . . . carnalis concupiscentiæ malum, propter quod homo qui per eam nascitur, trahit originale peccatum, discernamus a bonitate nuptiarum.

[p] Sed quia sine illo malo (carnalis concupiscentiæ) fieri non potest nuptiarum bonum, hoc est propagatio filiorum, ubi

an evil to be tolerated in the regenerate, for the procreation of children, themselves to be regenerate.[q]

Thus this great Oriental principle of the inherent evil of matter, as we have seen in the course of our Christian history, was the dominant and fundamental tenet of Gnosticism, lay at the root of Arianism, and will hereafter appear as the remote parent of Nestorianism; and this was the primary axiom of all Monasticism, and so became, almost imperceptibly, the first recognised principle of all Latin theology. Augustine, in this theory of the transmission of sin, betrays that invincible horror of the intrinsic evil of the material and corporeal, which had been infused into his mind by his youthful Manicheism.[r] Most of the other leading tenets of the Manicheans, the creation of man by the antagonistic malignant power, the unreality of the Christ, the whole mystic mythology of the imaginative Orientals, Augustine had rejected with indignation, and with the practical wisdom of the West; but, notwithstanding all his concessions on the dignity of marriage, he is, in this respect, an irreclaimable Manichean. Sin and all sensual indulgence, as it was called, all, however lawful, union between the sexes, were convertible terms, or terms so associated in human thought as to require some vigour of mind to discriminate between them. It was the vice of the theology of this period, and not, perhaps, of this period alone, that it seemed to make the indulgence of one passion almost the sole unchristian sin; a passion which is probably strengthened rather

ad hujusmodi opus venitur, secreta quæruntur. Hinc est quod infantes etiam, qui peccare non possunt, non tamen sine peccati contagione nascuntur, non ex hoc quod licet, sed ex hoc quod dedecet.—De Peccat. Origin., c. xxvii. His standing argument is from natural modesty, which he confounds with the shame of conscious guilt.

[q] The doctrine of original sin, as it is explicated by St. Austin, had two parents; one was the doctrine of the Encratites and some other heretics, who forbade marriage, and supposing it to be evil, thought that they were warranted to say it was the bed of sin, and children the spawn of vipers and sinners; and St. Austin himself, and especially St. Hierome, speaks some things of marriage, which if they were true, then marriage were highly to be refused, as being the increaser of sin rather than of children, and a semination in the flesh and contrary to the spirit; and such a thing, which being mingled with sin, produces univocal issues; the mother and the daughter are so alike that they are worse again.—Jer. Taylor, Answer to a Letter.

[r] Augustine strongly protests against the charge which was even then made against him of Manicheism.—De Concup. et Nupt., lib. ii.

than suppressed by compelling the mind to dwell perpetually upon it. This (and on this the whole stress was laid throughout the controversy) was, the concupiscence of the flesh, inherited from Adam, which was not washed away in the sanctifying waters of baptism, but still clave to the material nature of man, and was to be kept under control only by the most rigid asceticism. Celibacy thus became not merely a hard duty, but a glorious distinction: the clergy, and those females who aspired to more perfect Christianity, not merely chose a more difficult—and therefore, if successful, a more noble career—but were raised far above those lower mortals, who, in the most legitimate and holy form, that of faithful marriage, submitted to be the parents of children.

Pelagius himself,[s] so completely was the human mind possessed with this notion, almost rivalled Augustine in his praises of virginity, which he considered the great test of that strength of free will which he asserted to be weakened only, if weakened, by the fall of Adam.

The Augustinian theology, exactly to the extent to which it coincided with Latin Christianity, would, no doubt, harmonise with the opinions of one so completely representing that Christianity as Innocent I. When the African Churches, in their councils at Carthage, and at Milevis in Numidia, addressed the Pontiff on this momentous subject, the character, as well as the station of Innocent, might command more than respectful deference. Had they felt any jealousy as to their own independence, under the absorbing passion, the hatred of Pelagianism, they would have made any sacrifice to obtain the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The letters inform Innocent that the Africans had renewed the unregarded anathema pronounced against this wicked error, especially of Celestius, which had been issued five years before. They assert the power of Innocent to summon Pelagius to Rome to answer for his guilt, and to exclude him from the communion of the faithful.[t] They implore

Innocent Augustinian. 417. Jan. 27.

[s] Epist. ad Demetriad.

[t] Aut ergo a tuâ veneratione accersendus est Romam, et diligenter interrogandus.—Epist. Conc. Milev. Labbe, ii., p. 1547.

the dignity of the Apostolic throne, of the successor of St. Peter, to complete and ratify that which is wanting to their more moderate power.[u] Pelagius himself, even if he did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the tribunal, endeavoured to propitiate the favour of the judge: he addressed an explanatory letter, and a profession of faith, to the Bishop of Rome.[x]

Both parties appeal to Rome.

Yet Augustine and the Africans were not without solicitude as to the decision of Innocent. Since Pelagius, they knew, lived in Rome, undisturbed by the inquisitive zeal of the bishop, Augustine, in a private letter, signed by himself and four bishops, informed the Pope that some of these persons boasted that they had won him to their cause, or, at least, to think less unfavourably of Pelagius.[y]

The answer of Innocent allayed their fears.[z] He did not pass by the opportunity of asserting, as an acknowledged maxim, the dignity of the Apostolic See, the source of all episcopacy, and the advantage of an appeal to a tribunal, which might legislate for all Christendom. On the Pelagian question he places himself on the broad, popular, and unanswerable ground, that all Christian devotion implies the assistance of divine grace; that it is admitted in every response of the service, in every act of worship. He pronounces the opinions anathematised by the African bishops to be heretical; and declares that the unsound limb must be severed without remorse, lest it should infect the living body.[a] Africa, and all those who held the opinions of Augustine, triumphed in what might seem the unqualified sentence of the Bishop of Rome.

[u] Ut statutis nostræ mediocritatis, etiam apostolicæ sedis adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuendâ salute multorum et quorundam etiam perversitate corrigendâ. —Epist. Conc. Carthag. ad Innocent. Labbe, ii., p. 1514.

[x] Augustin. de Grat. Christ., cap. 30. De Pecc. Origin., 17, 21, &c.

[y] Quidam scilicet quia vos talia persuasisse perhibent.—Ibid.

[z] Qui ad nostrum referendum approbastis esse judicium, scientes quid Apostolicæ sedi (cum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideremus Apostolum) debeatur, a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit.—Innocent. Epist. ad Episc. Afric.

Ut per cunctas orbis totius ecclesias, quod omnibus prosit, decernendum una esse deposcitis.—Ibid.

[a] The lines of Prosper, who has written a long poem on this abstruse subject, have been referred to this decree of Innocent I.—

In causam fidei flagrantius Africa nostra
Exequeris; tecumque suum jungente vigorem
Juris Apostolici solio, fera viscera belli
Conficis, et lato prosternis limite victos.

At this period in the controversy, and before the arrival of the letter from Pelagius, died Pope Innocent I. Death of Innocent. A.D. 417. March 12.

So far the Bishop of Rome had floated onwards towards supremacy on the full tide of dominant opinion; his decrees were so acceptable to the general ear, that the tone of authority in which they began to be couched, jarred not on any quivering chord of jealousy or suspicion. The secret of that power lay in Rome's complete impregnation with the spirit of the age; and this lasted, almost unbroken, till the Reformation. It were neither just nor true to call this worldly policy, or to suppose that the Bishops of Rome dishonestly conformed, or bent their opinions to their age for the sake of aggrandising their power. Their sympathy with the general mind of Christianity constituted their strength; from their conscious strength grew up, no doubt, their bolder spirit of domination; but they became masters of the Western Church by being the representative, the centre, of its feelings and opinions. It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to the sole dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the universal, or at least predominant sentiment of mankind.

Once at this period, and but for a short time, the Bishop of Rome threw himself directly across the stream of religious opinion. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was by birth a Greek,[b] and seemed disposed to treat the momentous questions agitated by the Pelagian controversy with the contemptuous indifference of a Greek. Whether from this uncongeniality of the Eastern mind with these debates; whether from the pride of the man, which was flattered by the submission of both these dangerous heresiarchs to his authority; whether from an earnest and well-intentioned, but mistaken hope, of suppressing what appeared to him a needless dispute, Zosimus annulled at one blow all the judgments of his predecessor, Innocent; and absolved the men, whom Innocent, if he

Zosimus. 417, Mar. 18.

[b] Anastasius Bibliothec., c. 42.

had not branded with a direct anathema, had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful.

The address of Pelagius to Innocent had not arrived in Rome before the death of that prelate; it was accompanied with a creed elaborately and ostentatiously orthodox on all the questions which agitated the Eastern mind, and a solemn and minute repudiation of all the heresies relating to the nature of the Godhead. It might seem almost prophetically intended to propitiate the favour of a Greek Pope. He touched but briefly on the freedom of the will, and the necessity of divine grace; rejecting, as Manichean, the doctrine, that sin was inevitable; as a doctrine which he ascribes to Jovinian, the impeccability of the Christian.[c] Cœlestius, who had remained some time in peaceful retirement at Ephesus, had passed to Constantinople; from thence he is said to have been expelled by the Bishop Acacius. He now appeared in Rome, and throwing himself, as it were, at the feet of the Pontiff, declared that he was ready to submit to a dispassionate examination and authoritative judgment on his tenets.

A solemn hearing was appointed in the Basilica of St. Clement. Cœlestius was listened to with favour; if the positive sentence was delayed, his accusers Heros and Lazarus, the Gallic bishops, were denounced in the strongest terms to the African Council as vagabond, turbulent, and intriguing prelates, who had either abdicated or abandoned their sees, and travelled about sowing strife and calumny wherever they went.[d] The African prelates were summoned within a short period to make good their charges against Cœlestius, who in this first investigation had appeared unimpeachable.[e]

Pelagius and Cœlestius declared orthodox.

[c] The creed apud Baronium—sub ann. 417—Liberum sic esse confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio, et tam illos errare qui *cum Manicheis* dicunt hominem peccatum vitare non posse, quam illos qui cum Joviniano asserunt, hominem non posse peccare: uterque enim tollit libertatem arbitrii.—Was the first clause aimed at Augustine and the Africans?

[d] Zosimus Aurelio et univ. Episcop. Africæ.—Apud Labbe, ii., 1559.

Heros, according to Zosimus, had been Bishop of Arles, Proculus of Aix. Their rise was owing entirely to the tyrant (probably the usurper Constantine); it was accompanied with tumult and bloodshed, persecution of the priesthood who opposed them. With Constantine they fell, driven out by the execrations of the people, and abdicating their sees.—So the Bishop of Rome. S. Prosper gives a high character of both. —S. Prosper, Chron.

[e] Innotescere sanctitati vestræ super absoluta Cœlestii fide nostrum examen.—Ib.

Zosimus went further: he had warned Cœlestius and his accusers alike to abstain from these idle questions and unedifying disputes, the offspring of vain curiosity, and of the desire for the display of eloquence on subjects unrevealed.[f] Such to Zosimus appeared these questions, which had wrought Africa into a frenzy of zeal and distracted the whole West. The trial of Cœlestius was followed Sept. 21. by the public recital of a letter from Praylas, Bishop of Jerusalem, asserting in the most unqualified terms the orthodoxy of Pelagius. It was read with joy, with admiration, almost with tears of delight. "Would," writes Zosimus to the African bishops, "that one of you had been present at the edifying scene. That such a man should be impeached, and impeached by a Heros and a Lazarus! There was no point in which the grace and assistance of God could be asserted by a faithful Christian, which was not fully acknowledged by them."[g]

But the authority, which was received with deferential homage, so long as it concurred with their own views, lost its magic directly that it espoused the opposite cause. The African bishops inflexibly adhered to the condemnation of Pelagius, of Cœlestius, and their doctrines. Carthage obstinately refused to yield to Rome; it appealed to the sentence of Innocent, and disdainfully rejected the annulling power of Zosimus. Augustine, indeed, continued to speak with conciliating mildness of the Roman Prelate; but he let fall some alarming and significant expressions as to the prevarication of the whole Roman clergy.

To the long representation addressed to him by the Council of Carthage, Zosimus replied in a haughty tone, asserting that, according to the tradition, no one might dare to dispute the judgment of the Apostolic See. But the close of the epistle betrayed his embarrassment. Whether his natural sagacity had discovered that he had rashly attempted to stem the torrent of

Council of Carthage, March, 418.

[f] Admoneri, has tendiculas quæstionum, et inepta certamina quæ non edificant, sed magis destruunt, ex illâ curiositatis contagione profluere, dum unusquisque ingenio suo et intemperanti eloquentiâ supra scripta abutitur.—Ibid.

[g] Tales enim absolutæ fidei infamari posse? Est ne ullus locus in quo Dei gratia vel adjutorium prætermissum sit? Zosim. ad Episcop. Afric. Labbe, ii. p. 1561.

opinion; his brotherly love for the African Churches would induce him to communicate all his determinations to them, in order that they might act together for the common good of Christendom. He had stayed, therefore, all further proceedings in the affair of Cœlestius.[h]

It was time for Zosimus to retrace his precipitate course. Augustine and the African bishops had summoned to their aid a more powerful ally than even the Bishop of Rome. While the Pope either still adhered to the cause of Pelagius, or but began to vacillate, an Imperial edict was issued from the court of Ravenna, peremptorily deciding on this abstruse question of theology.[i] This law was issued before the final sitting of the Council of Carthage, in which, on the authority of two hundred and twenty-three bishops, eight canons were passed, condemnatory of Pelagianism. There can be no doubt, that the law was obtained by the influence of the African bishops with the Emperor or his ministers; there is great likelihood by the personal authority of Augustine with the Count Valerius. Italy, indeed, could hardly refuse to listen to the voice of Africa. This appeal to the civil magistrate is but another instance, that the ecclesiastical power has no scruple in employing in its own favour those arms of which it deprecates the use, the employment of which it treats as impious usurpation, when put forth against it. By this law it became a crime against the state, to be visited with civil penalties, to assert that Adam was born liable to death.[k] The dangerous heresiarchs were condemned by name, and without hearing or trial, to banishment from Rome.[m] Informers were invited or commanded to apprehend and drag before the tribunals, and to accuse the maintainers of these wicked doctrines. In the order issued by the Pretorian Prefects of Italy and

Appeal to the Emperor.

[h] Zosim. ad Episcop. Africæ.

[i] The law is dated April 30, A.D. 418. The final council was held early in May.

[k] Hi parenti cunctorum Deo . . . tam trucem inclementiam sævæ voluntatis assignant . . . . ut mortem præmitteret nascituro (Adamo, sc.), non hanc insidiis vetiti fluxisse peccati, sed exegisse penitus legem immutabilis constituti.—Rescript. Honor. et Theodos. apud Augustin. Oper. x., Append., p. 106.

[m] Hos ergo repertos ubicunque de hoc tam nefando scelere conferentes a quibuscunque jubemus corripi, deductosque ad audientiam publicam promiscuè ab omnibus accusari . . . ipsis inexorati exilii deportationi damnatis.—Ibid.

the East, to carry this law into effect, not merely were the heresiarchs banished, but their accomplices condemned to the confiscation of their estates, and to perpetual exile.[n]

Zosimus threw off the dangerous tenderness with which he had hitherto treated Cœlestius and his party. Already, before the promulgation of the Imperial edict, he had demanded his unequivocal condemnation of certain errors, charged against him by Paulinus, a Carthaginian deacon, who had been sent to Rome to represent the African opinions. Cœlestius was now again summoned to render an account of his tenets; under the ban of the Imperial law, an object of hatred to the populace, certain that the Pope had withdrawn his protection, of course he dared not appear: he had quietly retired from Rome.[o] Zosimus proceeded to condemn the faith, to anathematise the doctrines of Pelagius and Cœlestius, to excommunicate them from the body of the faithful, if they did not renounce and abjure the venomous tenets of their impious and abominable sect. Nor was this all: the Bishop of Rome addressed a circular letter to all the bishops of Christendom, condemning the doctrines of Pelagius. To this anathema they were expected to subscribe.[p]

Zosimus retracts.

Eighteen bishops alone, of those who took this letter into consideration, refused to condemn their fellow Christians unheard. They turned against Zosimus his own language to the African bishops, in which he had accused their precipitancy and injustice in condemning these very men without process or trial. They appealed to a General Council.

Eighteen recusants.

Of these eighteen, the most distinguished was Julianus, Bishop of Eclana, in Campania. His opinions did not altogether agree with those of Pelagius and Cœlestius;[q] he was the founder of what has been called Semi-Pelagianism. Julianus from his birth, his character, and the events of his life, was a remarkable man. He was

Julianus of Eclana.

[n] The convicted heretic, by the edict of Palladius, was to be facultatum publicatione nudatus.

[o] Augustin. de Pecc. Origin., c. 6. The gratulatory letter of Paulinus himself on the condemnation of Cœlestius, in Baronius, sub ann. 418.

[p] Augustin. de Pecc. Orig., 3, 4; in Julian, 1, c. 4. Prosper in Chronic.

[q] The great point of difference was that Pelagius held Adam to have been born mortal; Julianus admitted that the sin of Adam had brought death into the world.

of a noble family, the son of a bishop, Memor, for whom Augustine entertained the warmest friendship.[r] He was early admitted into the lower order of the clergy, and married a virgin of birth and virtue equal to his own. She was of the Æmilian family, daughter of the Bishop of Beneventum.

The epithalamium of Julianus and Ia was written by the holy Paullinus, Bishop of Nola. The poet urges upon the young and ardent couple not to break off their dangerous nuptials, but after their marriage to preserve their inviolate chastity. The pious bishop has, indeed, some misgivings as to the success of his poetic persuasions, and adds, that if they are betrayed into the weakness of having offspring, he trusts that they will make compensation to that state, which they have robbed of its brightest ornaments, by dedicating all their children, a sacerdotal family, to virginity.[s] Julianus was a man of great accomplishments, well read in the writers, especially the poets of Italy and Greece. But neither his illustrious descent, his Roman or his Christian kindred, nor his talents, nor his virtues, nor his station availed in the least in this desperate conflict at once with power and popular opinion. There were now arrayed in formidable and irresistible confederacy, the three commanding influences in Western Christendom, the Pope, the Emperor, and Augustine. The Pope, indignant at the demand for a General Council, proceeded to involve Julianus and the rest of the eighteen remonstrants under the anathema pronounced against Pelagius, and to depose him from his see. Julianus had but the unsatisfactory consolation of asserting that Zosimus dared not meet him before a General Council. The Emperor was at first disposed to accede to the demand for a Council, but the influence of Augustine with the Count Valerius changed the impartial judge into an implacable adversary. He is even accused, and by his most respected adversary Julianus, of employing every means, even those of corruption, to inflame the minds of the powerful against the followers of Pelagius.[t] A new Imperial edict sentenced to

[r] Augustin. contr. Julian., i., 12.

[s] Ut sit in ambobus concordia virginitatis,
Aut sint ambo sacris semina virginibus.
Votorum prior hic gradus est, ut nescia carnis
Membra gerant, quod si corpore congruerint,
Casta sacerdotale genus ventura propago,
Et domus Aaron sit toto domus Memoris.
Paull. Nolan Epithalamium, circa finem.

[t] See note infra.

exile Julianus and all the bishops who had fallen under the anathema of Zosimus. A second rescript followed, commanding all bishops not merely to subscribe the dominant opinions on these profound and abstruse topics, but to condemn their authors, Pelagius and Cœlestius, as irreclaimable heretics, and this under pain of deprivation and banishment. Justly might Julianus taunt his ecclesiastical brethren with this attempt to crush their adversaries by the civil power. With shame and sorrow we hear from Augustine himself that fatal axiom, which for centuries reconciled the best and holiest men to the guilt of persecution, the axiom which impiously arrayed cruelty in the garb of Christian charity—that they were persecuted in compassion to their souls;[u] that they ought to be thankful for the kind violence, which did them no real injury, but coerced them for their good; and that if for this end the secular power was called in, it was to restrain them from their sacrilegious temerity.[x]

His persecution.

Thus, then, on these men had fallen the ban of ecclesiastical and secular power, and in the West, at least, of popular opinion.[y] Pelagius vanishes at this time from history; he had been condemned by a Council at Antioch, and driven, a second Catiline as he is called by Jerome, from Jerusalem: of his end nothing is known. The more courageous and active Cœlestius still kept up the vain strife. Twice he returned to Rome during the episcopacy of the successor of Zosimus, and twice again was banished. At length, with Julianus, he took refuge at Constantinople, where he obtained a more favourable hearing both from the reigning Emperor, the younger Theodosius, and from Nestorius, the bishop. But his enemies were watchful, and Constantinople refused to entertain the condemned heresiarch: of his death likewise

[u] Non impotentiæ *contra* vos precamur auxilium, sed *pro* vobis potius ut ab ausu sacrilego cohibeamini, Christianæ potentiæ laudamus officium.—Oper. Imperf., l. ii., c. 14.

[x] Compare I. 10, where he says that Christian powers (he means the civil powers) are bound to use disciplinam coercitionis against all opponents of the Catholic faith.

[y] Julianus, it appears, objected to Augustine that all his authorities were Western bishops. This Augustine does not deny, but demands whether the authority of St. Peter and his successor, Innocent, is not enough. —Contr. Julian., 1, c. 13. He quotes, however, Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil.

history is silent. The accomplished Julianus,[z] exiled from his see, proscribed not merely by the harsh edicts of power, but hunted by popular detestation from town to town, wandered through Christendom, as if he bore a divine judgment upon him. His long and weary life was protracted thirty years after his exile.[a] At length he settled as teacher of a school, in an obscure town of Sicily. The last act of the proscribed heretic was to sacrifice all he had to relieve the poor in a grievous famine. Some faithful follower, it is said, whether in zeal for his tenets or admiration for his virtues, inscribed on his tomb, "Here sleeps in peace Julianus, the Catholic Bishop."

Semi-Pelagianism.

While the West in general bowed before the commanding authority of Augustine; trembled and shrunk from any opinion which might even seem to impeach the sovereignty of God; laid its free will down a ready sacrifice before divine grace, as contained in the sacraments of the Church and administered by the awful hierarchy; hesitated not to abandon the whole world, external to the Church, to that inevitable hell which was the patrimony of all the children of Adam; Semi-Pelagianism arose in another quarter, and under different auspices, and maintained an obstinate contest for considerably more than a century. This school grew up among the monasteries in the south of France. Among its partisans were some of the most eminent bishops of that province. The most distinguished, if not the first founder, of this Gallic Semi-Pelagianism was the monk Cassianus.

Cassianus.

The birth-place of Cassianus is uncertain, but

[z] The fragments of the writings of Julianus, especially those in the Opus Imperfectum of Augustine, show great acuteness and eloquence, and a facility and perspicuity of style which bears no unfavourable comparison with the great African father. His piety is unimpeachable.

[a] Julianus constantly taunts Augustine with this appeal to the passions of the rude and ignorant vulgar on such abstruse subjects, and with even worse means of persecuting his adversaries. Cur seditiones Romæ conductis populis excitâstis? Cur de sumtibus pauperum saginâstis per totam pœne Africam, equorum greges, quos prosequenti Olybrio, tribunis et centurionibus destinâstis? Cur matronarum oblatis hæreditatibus potestates sæculi corrupistis, ut in nos stipula furoris publice ardeat? Cur dissipâstis Ecclesiarum quietem? Cur religiosi principis tempora persecutionum impietate maculâstis?—Oper. Imperfect., iii. 74.

Augustine contents himself by simply denying these charges, the last of which, by his own showing and by the extant edicts, was too true.

In another place Julianus says, Ut erecto cornu *dogma populare*.—Oper. Imperfect. ii. 2.

if not Greek or Oriental by birth, he was either one or the other, or both, by education.[b] His youth was passed in the Eastern monasteries, first in Bethlehem, afterwards in Egypt. Eastern and Egyptian monachism, like its more remote ancestor in India, and its more immediate parent, the Essenism or Therapeutism of the Jews, was anything but a blind or humble Predestinarianism. It was the strength and triumph of the human will. It was the self-wrought victory over the bondage of matter; the violent avulsion and stern estrangement from all the indulgences, the pursuits, the affections, the society of the world. The dreamy and passive state of the monk, in which he was surrendered to spiritual influences, began not till his own determination had withdrawn him into the austere and eremitical solitude. There man might be commingled, in absolute identity, with the Godhead. Every act of remorseless asceticism was a meritorious demand on the divine approbation. The divine influence was wrestled for and won by the resolute and prevailing votary, not bestowed as the unsought gift of God. Cassianus passed from Egypt to Constantinople, where he became the favoured pupil of that Greek Father whose writings are throughout the most adverse to the Augustinian system. The whole theology of Chrysostom, in its general impression, is a plain and practical appeal to the free will of man. He addresses man as invested in an awful responsibility, but as self-dependent, self-determining to good or evil. The depravity against which he inveighs is no inherited, inherent corruption, to be dispossessed only by divine grace, but a personal, spontaneous, self-originating, and self-maintained surrender to evil influences; to be broken off by a vigorous effort of religious faith, to be controlled by severe self-imposed religious discipline. As far as is consistent with prayer and devotion, man is master of his own destiny. The Augustinian questions of predestination, grace, the foreknowledge of God, even in general,

[b] Notwithstanding the express words of Gennadius, Cassianus natione Scytha, he has been supposed an African. He is called Afer in the list of ecclesiastical writers by Honorius (lxi. c. 84); an Egyptian (Pagi, Basnage, Fabricius); a Latin (Photius, c. 197); a Gaul (Card. Noris and the Benedictines, Hist. Lit. de la France).

the atonement and the extent of its consequences, lie without the sphere of Chrysostom's theology. Cassianus received at least the first holy orders from Chrysostom. During the disturbances in Constantinople relating to his deposal, Cassianus was sent to Rome on a mission to Pope Innocent I. To the memory of Chrysostom he preserved the most fervent attachment. Chrysostom was to him a second John the Evangelist.[c]

Cassianus in Gaul.

Probably after the fall of Chrysostom, Cassianus settled at Marseilles, and founded two monasteries, one of men and one of women, in which he introduced the severe discipline of the East. Marseilles was Greek; it retained to a late period the character and, to some degree, the language of a Grecian colony; no doubt, on that account, it was congenial to Cassianus. But Cassianus became so completely master of Latin as to write in that language his Monastic Institutes, the austere and inflexible code followed in most of the cœnobitic foundations north of the Alps; and it is chiefly from this work that posterity can collect the Semi-Pelagian opinions of its author.[d] Already, however, some of the faithful partisans of Augustine had given the alarm at this tendency towards rebellion against the dictatorship of their master. Prosper and Hilarius denounced this yet more secret defection of those who presumed to impugn with vain objections the holy Augustine on the grace of God.[e] The last works which occupied Augustine were addressed to Prosper and Hilarius, in order to check this daring inroad, and to establish on irrefragable grounds the predestination of the saints and the gift of perseverance.[f]

[c] Adoptatus a beatissimæ memoriæ Joanne in ministerium sacrum atque oblatus Deo. . . . Mementote magistrorum vestrorum veterum sacerdotumque vestrorum . . . Joannis fide ac puritate mirabilis: Joannis inquam, Joannis illius qui verè ad similitudinem Joannis Evangelistæ, et discipulus Jesu et Apostolus, quasi super pectus domini semper affectumque discubuit . . . . Qui communis mihi ac vobis magister fuit; cujus discipuli et institutio sumus, *et seqq.*— Cassianus de Incarn. c. 31.

[d] There has been a controversy whether Cassianus was a Semi-Pelagian. With his works before them, even from the same passages of his works, grave and learned men have argued on both sides.

[e] Gratiam Dei, qua Christiani sumus, qui tam dicere audent a sanctæ memoriæ Augustino Episcopo non rectè esse defensam, librosque ejus contra errorem Pelagianum conditos immoderatis calumniis impetere non quiescunt.—Prosper contr. Collatorem, c. 1.

[f] De Prædestinatione Sanctorum liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium . . . . De dono perseverantiæ liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium secundus.

The partisans of Augustine continued to wage the war with all the burning zeal and imperious authority of their master. A school arose, not of theology alone, but of poetry. Prosper, in a long poem, compelled the reluctant language and form of Latin verse to condemn the "ungrateful," who in their wanton pride ascribed partly to themselves, not absolutely to the grace of God, the work of their salvation. Prosper and Hilarius were followed by a long line of assertors of the Augustinian Predestinarianism, of which Fulgentius was the most rigid and inexorable advocate.[g] Controversy in Gaul.

Cassianus, on the other side, handed down to a succession of more or less bold disciples the aversion to the extreme views of Augustine. It is doubtful whether the Vincentius, who espoused his opinions, was the celebrated Abbot of Lerins, the author of the 'Commonitory.' At a later period Faustus, Bishop of Riez, brought the sanction of learning, high character, and sanctity to the same cause.

Semi-Pelagianism aspired to hold the balance between Pelagius and Augustine;[h] to steer a safe and middle course between the abysses into which each, on either side, had plunged in desperate presumption.[i] It emphatically repudiated the heresy of Pelagius in the denial of original sin; it asserted divine grace, but it seemed to confine divine grace to the outward means, the Scriptures and the sacraments, rather than to its inward and direct workings on the soul itself.

But it condemned with equal resolution the system of Augustine, by which the grace of God was hardened into an iron necessity; it reproached him with that Manicheism which divided mankind into two hard antagonistic masses.[k]

But of all religious controversies this alone had the

[g] Fulgentius was the predecessor of that modern divine who is said to have spoken of the *comfortable* doctrine of the eternal damnation of little children.

[h] Sed nec cum hæreticis tibi, nec cum Catholicis plena concordia est . . . tu informe, nescio quid, tertium et utraque parte inconveniens reperisti, quo nec inimicorum consensum adquireres, nec in nostrorum permaneres.—Prosper, c. ii. p. 117.

[i] Compare Walch, v. p. 56.

[k] Compare the letter of Prosper to Rufinus, in which Augustine is said to make, duas humani generis massas, an error as bad as that of heathens or Manicheans.

merit of not growing up into a fatal and implacable schism.[m] The Semi-Pelagians, though condemned in several successive councils, were not cast out of the Church, and did not therefore form separate and hostile communities. This rare mutual respect, which now prevailed, is no doubt to be attributed to one important cause. The monasteries, which were held in such profound and universal veneration, were the chief schools of these doctrines; some of the most austere and most admired of these Cœnobites were the chief assertors of the free will of man.[n]

[m] No question has been more disputed in later days, or with less certain result, than whether there was a distinct sect of Predestinarians at this period. The controversy originated in the publication of a remarkable tract, the "Prædestinatus," by the Jesuit Sirmond. The great object was to clear the memory of Augustine, who was claimed both by Jesuits and Jansenists. Such a sect, if it existed, would carry off from St. Augustine all the charges heaped upon Predestinarianism at that time. If they were *heretics*, Augustine was of unimpeached orthodoxy, and therefore could not have held a condemnable Predestinarianism. Walch discusses the question at length, vol. v.

[n] Prosper himself betrays this enforced respect and its peculiar source:—

Nec tibi fallacis subrepat imago decoris,
Nullum ex his errare putes, licet in Cruce vitam
Ducant, et jugi afficiant sua corpora morte:
Abstineant opibus; sint casti; sintque benigni;
Terrenisque ferant animum super astra relictis;
Si tamen hæc propria virtute capessere quenquam
Posse putant, sitve ut dignus labor iste juvari,
Ingenium meruisse aiunt bona vera petentis;
Crescere quo cupiunt, minuuntur; proficiendo
Deficiunt; surgendo cadunt, currendo recedunt;
Unde etenim vani frustra splendescere quærunt,
Inde obscurantur: quoniam sua, laudis amore,
Non quæ sunt Christi quærunt, nec fit Deus illis
Principium et capiti non dant in corpore regnum.

Prosper ad Ingratos, xxxvii.

CHAPTER III.

NESTORIANISM.

ZOSIMUS filled the See of Rome only a year and nine months. His short pontificate was agitated not only by the Pelagian controversy, but by disputes with the bishops of Southern Gaul and of Africa, hereafter to be considered when the relations of those provinces to the See of Rome shall take their place in our history. Mar. 18, 417. Dec. 26, 418. Death of Zosimus.

The death of Zosimus gave rise to the third contested election for the See of Rome.

The greater the dignity of the Bishop of Rome, and the more lofty his pretensions to supremacy, the more would ambition covet this post of power and distinction; the more, on the other hand, would holy and Christian emulation aspire to place the worthiest prelate in this commanding station; and men's opinions would not always concur as to the ecclesiastic best qualified to preside over Western Christendom. Thus while the most ungovernable worldly passions and interests would intrude themselves into the election, honest religious zeal, often the blindest, always the most obstinate of human motives, would esteem it a sacred duty to espouse, an impious weakness to abandon, some favourite cause. Disputed election, Dec. 27, 28.

The unsettled form of the election, and the undefined rights of the electors, could not but increase the difficulty and exasperate the strife. The absolute nomination by the clergy would have been no security against contested elections; for in every double election a large part of the clergy was ranged on either side, and formed the rival factions. A certain assent of the people was still considered necessary to ratify the appointment. At all events, the people looked on the election with such profound interest, during a contest with such violent excitement, that it was impossible to exclude them from Unsettled form of election.

interference: and both factions were so anxious for their support, that only the losing party would see the impropriety of their tumultuous mingling in the fray. The election of the Bishop was now as much an affair of the whole city as that of a consul or a dictator of old, without the ancient and time-honoured regulations for collecting the suffrages by centuries or by tribes.

The people. And who were the people? Was this right equally shared by all the members of the religious community, now almost co-extensive in number with the inhabitants of the city? Had the Senate any special privilege, or were all these rights of the laity vested in the Emperor alone as the supreme civil power, and so in the Prefect of Rome the representative of imperial authority? The popular universal suffrage, which, in a small primitive church, one pervaded with pure Christian piety, tended to harmony, became an uncontrolled democratic anarchy when the bishopric included a vast city. It is surprising that this difficulty, which was not removed until, at a comparatively recent period, the election was vested in the College of Cardinals, was not fatal to the supremacy of Rome. But though the wild scenes of anarchy and tumult, which, especially from the eighth to the eleventh century, impaired the authority of the Pope in Rome itself, and desecrated his person; though the successful Pontiff was often only the head of a triumphant faction, and was either disobeyed, or obeyed with undisguised reluctance, by the defeated party; still distance seemed to soften off all this unseemly confusion, above which the Pope appeared seated on his serene and lofty throne in undiminished majesty. It constantly happened that at the very time at which in Rome the Pope was insulted, maltreated, wounded, imprisoned, driven from the city, the extreme parts of Christendom were bowing to his decrees in unshaken reverence.

Twice already—perhaps more than twice—had Rome been afflicted with a fierce and prolonged contest. The austere bigotry of Novatian had maintained his claim against the authority of Cornelius. Felix had been the antipope to Liberius. The streets of Rome had run with

blood, the churches had been defiled with dead bodies, in the more recent strife of Damasus and Ursicinus.

On the death of Zosimus, some of the clergy chose the Archdeacon Eulalius in the Lateran Church; on the same, or the next day, a larger number met in the Church of S. Theodora, and elected the Presbyter Boniface. Three bishops, among whom was the Bishop of Ostia, either compelled, it was said, or yielding through the weakness of extreme old age, consecrated Eulalius. Boniface was inaugurated by nine bishops, in the presence of seventy presbyters, in the Church of St. Marcellus. Rome might apprehend the return of those terrible and bloody days which marked the elevation of Damasus. The Prefect of Rome was Symmachus, son of that eloquent orator who had defended with so much energy the lost cause of paganism. The outward conformity, at least, of Symmachus to Christianity may be presumed from the favour of Honorius; but it is curious to find a contest for the Papacy dependent for its decision on the son of such a father. Symmachus, in his report to the Emperor, inclines toward the party of Eulalius. Boniface was summoned to Ravenna. He delayed to obey the mandate, which reached him when he was performing his sacred functions without the city; the officers of the Prefect were maltreated by the populace of his party. The gates of Rome, therefore, were closed upon Boniface, and Eulalius, in great state, amid the acclamations of part, at least, of the people, took possession of St. Peter's, the Capitol, as it were, of Christianity.

Dec. 27, 28. Double election. Eulalius. Jan. 6.

The party of Boniface were not inactive, or without influence at the court of Ravenna. The petition to the Emperor declared that all the Presbyters of Rome would accompany Boniface, to make known her will, or, rather, the judgment of God.[a] Honorius issued a rescript, with supercilious impartiality commanding both prelates to remain at a distance from the city, until

Edict of Honorius.

[a] Prelectis singulis Titulis, presbyteri omnes aderunt, qui voluntatem suam, hoc est, judicium Dei proloquantur. — Apud Baronium, sub ann. 419.

the cause should be decided by a synod of bishops from Italy, Gaul, and Africa. In the mean time, as the Roman people could not be deprived of the solemn rites of Easter, Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, was ordered to officiate during the vacancy. Eulalius would not endure this sacrilegious usurpation of the powers of his see. He surprised by night, at the head of that part of the populace which was on his side, the Lateran Church; and in contempt of the Emperor's orders, celebrated the holy rites. But the days of successful conflict with the civil power were not yet come. The rashness of Eulalius estranged even Symmachus from his cause:[b] this act was treated as one of rebellion. Eulalius was expelled from the city. He was threatened, as well as all the clergy who adhered to him, with still more fearful penalties. The laity who communicated with Eulalius were to be punished, the higher orders with banishment and confiscation, slaves with death. The primates of the Regions of Rome were to be responsible for all popular tumults. Such was the commanding judgment of the Emperor.[c]

Mar. 18-28.

Boniface took possession without further contest of the Pontifical throne. He was the son of a presbyter[d] named Jocondus, a Roman by birth; an aged Prelate, of mild and blameless character: he was wisely anxious to prevent, as far as possible, the scandals, and even crimes, in which he had been so nearly involved. He addressed the Emperor, urging the enactment of a law, a civil law, which should restrain ecclesiastical ambition, and coerce those who aspired to obtain by intrigue, what ought to be the reward of piety and holiness. Honorius issued an edict, that in case of a contested election both the rival candidates should be excluded from the office, and a new appointment made. Thus the Imperial power assumed, and was acknowledged to possess, full authority to regulate the election of Bishops of Rome.[e] During the three years of the pontificate of

Boniface Pope, Apr. 10.

[b] Symmachi rescript. apud Baron.
[c] See the rescript of Honorius, apud Baronium.
[d] Platin. vit. Bonifac.
[e] Rescriptum Honorii, apud Baronium.

Boniface, the Pelagian controversy was still drawing out its almost interminable length.

On the death of Boniface,[f] Eulalius refused to leave the seclusion into which he had retired; the decline of life may have softened his ambition—for he Sept. 4, 422. died the following year. Celestine was elected, and ruled in peace the See of Rome. The Pontificates of Celestine I.[g] and his successor Sixtus I.[h] were occupied by Sept. 10. Celestine I. the Nestorian controversy: occupied, but hardly disturbed. The East, as it has appeared, had stood aloof serene and unimpassioned throughout the Pelagian controversy; in Palestine, the Latin Jerome alone, and his partisans the two Western bishops of doubtful fame, would not endure the presence of Pelagius. In Alexandria and Constantinople, Predestination, Grace, Free Will, excited no tumults, arrayed against each other no hostile factions, demanded no councils. The Bishop of Constantinople pronounced his authoritative decrees, which no one desired to question; and expelled from his diocese Cœlestius, or Pelagius himself, whom no one cared to defend. They alone, of all powerful heresiarchs in Constantinople, neither distracted the Imperial court, nor maddened popular faction.

Latin Christianity contemplated with almost equal indifference Nestorianism, and all its prolific race, Eutychianism, Monophytism, Monothelitism. Indifference of the West. While in this contest the two great Patriarchates of the East, Constantinople and Alexandria, brought to issue, or strove to bring to issue, their rival claims to ascendancy; while council after council promulgated, reversed, re-enacted their conflicting decrees; while separate and hostile communities were formed in every region of the East; and the fears of persecuted Nestorianism, stronger than religious zeal, penetrated for refuge remote countries, into which Christianity had not yet found its way: in the West there was no Nestorian, or Eutychian sect. Some councils condemned, but with hardly an audible remonstrance, these uncongenial heresies: the

[f] Boniface died Nov. 4, 422.
[g] Celestine I., Sept. 10, 422; died July, 432.
[h] Sixtus I., 432; died 440.

doctrines are condemned, but there appears no body of heretics whom it is thought necessary to strike with the anathema.

State of the East.

In the East, religion ceased more and more to be an affair of pure religion. It was mingled up with all the intrigues of the Imperial court, with all the furies of faction in the great cities. The council was the arena, not merely for Christian doctrine, but for worldly ascendancy. Secular ambition could no longer be distinguished, nor could the warring prelates themselves distinguish it, from zeal for orthodoxy. Religious questions being decided by the favour of the Emperor, the Empress, or the ruling minister, the eunuch or the barbarian, that favour was sought by the most unscrupulous means—by intrigue, by adulation, by bribery; and these means became hallowed. There was no sacrifice with which Alexandria would not purchase superiority over Constantinople, or Constantinople over Alexandria: the rivalry of the sees darkened into the fiercest personal hostility.

In the mean time the Bishop of Rome, unembarrassed with the intricacies of the question, which had no temptation for his more practical understanding, with the whole West participating in his comparative apathy, could sit, at a distance, a tranquil arbiter, and interfere only when he saw his own advantage, or when all parties, exasperated or wearied out, gladly submitted to any foreign or unpledged judgment. The Eastern prelates, too eager to destroy each other, were either blind to, or in the heat of mutual detestation disregarded this silent aggression, and admitted principles without suspicion fatal to their own independence.

On the nature of the Godhead the inexhaustible East had not yet nearly run the whole round of speculative thought; the Greek language still found new gradations on which it might employ its fine and subtile distinctiveness. All these controversies, which began anew with Nestorianism, sprang by lineal and unbroken descent from the great ancestral principle. The same Oriental tenet (however it may not, at first sight, be apparent) which gave birth to the various Gnostic sects, and to Manicheism, had

lain at the root of Arianism,[1] now quickened into life Nestorianism and all its kindred race. Arianism had arisen out of that profound sense of the malignancy of matter, which in its grosser influence had led to the Manichean Dualism. The pure, primal, parental Deity must stand entirely aloof from all connexion with that in which evil was inherent, inveterate, inextinguishable. This was the absolute essence of Deity; this undisturbed, unattainted Spiritualism, which disdained, repelled, abhorred the contact, the approximation of the Corporeal, which once assimilating to, or condescending to assume any of the attributes of Matter, ceased to be the Godhead.

Trinitarianism established.

By the triumph of the Athanasian Trinitarianism, and by the gradual dominance which it had obtained over the general mind of Christendom, the co-equal and consubstantial Godhead in the Trinity had become an article of the universal creed in the Latin Church. Arianism survived only among the barbarians. The East adhered almost as generally to the Creed of Nicea. The Son, therefore, had become, if the expression may be ventured, more and more divine; he was more completely not merely assimilated, but absolutely identified, with the original, perfect, uncontaminated Godhead. Yet his descent into the material world, his admixture with the external, the sensible, the created—his assumption of the form and being of man (which all agreed to be essential to the Christian scheme, not in seeming alone, according to the Docetic notion, but actually and really)—must be guarded by the same jealousy of infecting his pure and spiritual essence by the earthly contagion: that which would have been fatal to the spirituality of the Father, might endanger the same prerogative of the Son. The divine and human nature could not indeed be kept separate, but they must be united with the least possible sacrifice of their essential

[1] Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 443. Add to the authorities there quoted this decisive passage from Arius himself, apud Athanas. xvi. de Syn. *εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐκ γαστρὸς* (Psalm cx. 3) *καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἥκω, ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπό τινων νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἔσται ὁ πατὴρ καὶ διαιρετὸς καὶ τρεπτὸς καὶ σῶμα κατ' αὐτούς.* Arius accused his adversaries of destroying this pure spirituality of the Father, by asserting the *ὁμοούσια* of the Son. The Father became likewise composed of parts, divisible, mutable, corporeal, and to him this was an unanswerable argument.

attributes. If (according to Nestorius) the Eternal and Co-equal Word were *born*, this was a denial of his pre-existence; and to assert that he could be liable to passion or suffering,[k] in the same manner violated the pure spirituality of the Godhead. He proposed, therefore, that the appellation, Christ, should be confined, and, as it were, kept sacred, as signifying the Being, composed of the blended, yet unconfounded, God and man; and that the Virgin should be the mother of Christ, the God-man, not the mother of God, of the unassociated divinity.[m] This is the key to the whole controversy. Never was there a case in which the contending parties approximated so closely. Both subscribed, both appealed to the Nicene Creed; both admitted the pre-existence, the impassibility of the Eternal Word; but the fatal duty, which the Christians in that age, and unhappily in subsequent ages, have imposed upon themselves, of considering the detection of heresy the first of religious obligations, mingled, as it now was, with human passions and interests, made the breach irreparable. Men like Cyril of Alexandria, in whom religion might seem to have inflamed and embittered, instead of allaying, the worst passions of our nature, pride, ambition, cruelty, rapacity; and councils like that of Ephesus, with all the tumult and violence without the dignity of a senate or popular assembly, convulsed the East, and led to a fierce and irreconcilable schism.

Views of Nestorius.

The stern repudiation of the term, the Mother of God, encountered another sentiment, which had been rapidly growing up, as one of the dominant influences of the Christian mind. The worship of the Virgin had arisen from the confluence of many pure and gentle, and many natural feelings. The reverence for everything connected with the Redeemer, especially by ties so close and tender, would not with cold jealousy watch and limit its ardent language. The more absolute deification, if it may be so said, of Christ; the forgetfulness of his humanity induced by his investment in more remote and awful

Worship of the Virgin.

[k] Patibilis.

[m] Χριστοτοκὸς, not Θεοτοκὸς.

Godhead,—created a want of some more kindred and familiar object of adoration. The worship of the intermediate saints admitted that of the Virgin as its least dangerous, most affecting, most consolatory part. The exquisite beauty and purity of the images, the Virgin Mother and the Divine Infant, though not as yet embodied in the highest art, by painting or sculpture, appealed to the unreasoning and unsuspecting heart. To this was added, the superior influence with which Christianity had invested the female sex, and which naturally clave to this gentler and kindred object of adoring love. In one of the earliest documents relating to this controversy, the honour conferred on the female sex by the birth of the Lord from the Virgin Mary is dwelt upon in glowing terms: woman's glory is inseparably connected with that of the Virgin Mother. The power exercised by females at the court of Constantinople, now by the sisters and wives, the Pulcherias and Eudoxias, at other times by the mothers of Emperors, the Helenas and Irenes, as in some degree springing from Christianity, was strengthened by, and in its turn strengthened, this adoration of the Virgin Mary, which interposed itself between that of Christ, and still more that of God the Father, and the worshipping Christian.

With this view accords the whole course of the history. On the death of Sisinnius, Bishop of Constantinople, the Emperor, the younger Theodosius, to terminate the intrigues and factions among the clergy of the city, summoned Nestorius from Antioch to the Episcopal Throne of the Eastern Rome.[n] Nestorius appeared, simple in his dress, grave in his demeanour, pale and meagre with ascetic observances, and with the fame of surpassing eloquence.[o] He revived to the expecting city the fond remembrance of Chrysostom, who, like him, had been *called* from Antioch to Constantinople. The Golden

Promotion of Nestorius, A.D. 428.

[n] Nestorius was a Syrian, a native of Germanicia.—Socrat. vii. 29. Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. iv. 12. Simeon Batharsam. apud Assemanni, Biblioth. Orient. i. 346.

[o] Tantâ antea opinione vixisti, ut tuis te aliena civitas invideret. Such is the honourable testimony borne to the character of Nestorius by Pope Celestine.—Epistol. ad Nestor., Mansi, iv. 1206.

[p] Cassian. De Incarn. vii. 30. Tillemont, page 286.

Mouth was again to appal and delight the city. But the religion of Chrysostom, from its strong practical character, had escaped that speculative tinge which seemed natural to the Syrian mind. The last lingering vestiges of Gnosticism survived in Syria. Arius, though not a Syrian Presbyter, found his most ardent adherents in that province; and now from the same quarter sprang this new theory, which, though it rested its claim to orthodoxy on its irreconcilable hostility to Arianism, grew out of the same principle.

Commencement of Nestorianism, A.D. 429.

Anastasius, a presbyter, who accompanied Nestorius from Antioch, first sounded the clarion of strife and confusion. He publicly preached that it was improper and even impious to address the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God. The indignation and excitement of the city was heightened by fast-spreading rumours, that the Bishop not merely refused to silence the sacrilegious Presbyter, but openly avowed the same opinion.[q] As is usual, the subtile distinctions of Nestorius were unheard or unintelligible to the common ear. He proscribed an appellation to which the pulpits and the services of the Church had habituated the general mind. The tenet jarred upon the high-strung sensitiveness of an inveterate faith, and awoke resentment, on which the finest argument was lost.

Sermons of Nestorius.

In the great Metropolitan Church the Bishop delivered a sermon on the Incarnation of the Lord.[r] As an orator he placed his own theory in the most brilliant light. He dwelt on the omnipotence, the glory, and all the transcendent attributes of God the Creator, and of God the Redeemer. "And can this God have a mother?"[s] "The heathen notion of a God born of a mortal mother is directly confuted by St. Paul, who declares the Lord without father and without mother. Could a creature bear the Uncreated? Could the Word, which was with the Father before the worlds, become a new-born infant? The human nature alone was born of the Virgin: that which is of the flesh is flesh.[t] The manhood was the instrument of the

[q] Socrates, E. H. vii. 29, 32.
[r] Socrates, H. E. vii. 32. Evagrius, i. 2. Liberatus. Breviar. c. 4.
[s] Socrates, ut supra.
[t] Marius Mercator, edit. Garnier, ii. p. 5.

divine purposes, the outward and visible vesture of the Invisible. God was incarnate, indeed, but God died not; his death was but casting off the weeds of mortality, which he had assumed for a time." A second and a third sermon followed, in which Nestorius still further unfolded his opinions: "Like can but bear like; a human mother can only bear a human being. God was not born—he dwelt in that which was born; the Divinity underwent not the slow process of growth and development during the nine months of pregnancy." But the more perplexing and subtle are arguments addressed to those whose judgment is already ratified by their passions, they only inflame resentment instead of working conviction. The whole city was in an uproar; every ecclesiastical rule broken asunder. The presbyters, in every quarter, preached against their bishop; and a bold monk (the monks were always the faithful representatives of the religious passions of their age) forbade the Bishop, as an obstinate heretic, to approach the altar. Nestorius (and in all his subsequent afflictions it must be remembered that, when in power, he scrupled not to persecute) did not bear these insults with Christian equanimity, or repress them with calm dignity. The refractory priests and the tumultuous people were seized, tried, and scourged more cruelly than in a land of barbarians. Nestorius, it is said, with his own hand, struck the presumptuous monk, and then made him over to the officers, who flogged him through the streets, with a crier going before to proclaim his offence, and then cast him out of the city.[u]

[u] This is the account indeed of a partisan—the report of Basilius to the Emperor Theodosius. Labbe, Concil. But his whole history shows the persecuting spirit of Nestorius:—"The fifth day after his consecration he endeavoured to deprive the Arians of their church: they burned it down in despair. He was called by his enemies Nestorius the Incendiary." Socrat. vii. 29. He excited also a violent persecution against the Novatians, Quarto-decimans, and Macedonians.—Ibid. et c. 31. The most damning fact against him, however, is his own boast that he procured an imperial law of the utmost severity against all heretics: Ego, certe legem inter ipsa meæ ordinationis initia contra eos, qui Christum purum hominem dicunt, et contra reliquas hæreses innovavi. Mansi, v. 731 or 763. The Law. (Cod. Theodos. de Hæret.) Vincentius Lirinensis writes of Nestorius, Ut uni hæresi aditum patefaceret, cunctarum hæreseon blasphemias insectabatur.—Commonit. c. 16. Nestorius was in character a monk, without humility. "Give me (such is the speech ascribed to him as addressed to the Emperor) a world freed from heresy, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven. Aid me in subduing the heretics, I will aid you in routing the Persians."

Nestorius found in Constantinople itself a more dangerous antagonist. On a festival in honour of the Virgin, Proclus Bishop of Cyzicum (an unsuccessful rival, it is said, of Nestorius for the Metropolitan See) delivered a passionate appeal to the dominant feeling. The worship of the Virgin, in the most poetic ages of Christianity, has hardly surpassed the images which Proclus poured forth in lavish profusion in honour of the Mother of God. "Earth and sea did homage to the Virgin, the sea smoothing its serene waters, earth conducting the secure travellers who thronged to her festival. Nature exulted, and womankind was glorified." "We are assembled in honour of the Mother of God" (the appellation condemned by Nestorius); "the spotless treasure-house of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second Adam; the workshop, in which the two natures were annealed together; the bridal chamber in which the Word wedded the flesh; the living bush of nature, which was unharmed by the fire of the divine birth; the light cloud, which bore Him which sate between the Cherubim; the stainless fleece, bathed in the dews of heaven, with which the Shepherd clothed his sheep; the handmaid and the mother, the Virgin and Heaven;"—and so on through a wild labyrinth of untranslatable metaphor.* The cloudy opening cleared off into something like argument; it became an elaborate reply to Nestorius, the declaration of war from one who felt his strength in the popular feeling.

Cyril of Alexandria.

But the war was not confined to Constantinople; it involved the whole East. Now rushed forward an adversary far more formidable in station, in ability, in that character for Christian orthodoxy of doctrine which then hallowed every act, even every crime, but from which true Christianity would avert its sight in shame and anguish, that such a champion should be accepted as the representative of the Gospel of peace and love. Cyril of

* This sermon of Proclus (to be found Labbe, Concil. sub ann.) is said, in the ancient preface, to have been delivered in the great church, in the presence of Nestorius. Nestorius appears to have answered this attack with moderation. In dieser ganzer Rede (the answer of Nestorius) herrschet so viel Bescheidenheit, als gewiss in andern polemischen Schriften dieses Zeitalters kaum angetroffen wird.—Walch, p. 376.

Alexandria, to those who esteem the stern and uncompromising assertion of certain Christian tenets the one paramount Christian virtue, may be the hero, even the saint: but while ambition, intrigue, arrogance, rapacity, and violence are proscribed as unchristian means—barbarity, persecution, bloodshed as unholy and unevangelic wickednesses—posterity will condemn the orthodox Cyril as one of the worst of heretics against the spirit of the Gospel. Who would not meet the judgment of the Divine Redeemer loaded with the errors of Nestorius, rather than with the barbarities of Cyril?

Cyril was the nephew of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, the worthy successor to the see and to the character of that haughty and unscrupulous prelate, the enemy of Chrysostom. Jealousy and animosity towards the Bishop of Constantinople was a sacred legacy bequeathed by Theophilus to his nephew, and Cyril faithfully administered the fatal trust. He inherited even the bitter personal hatred of Chrysostom; refused to concur in the general respect for his memory—in the reversal, after his death, of the unjust sentence of deposition from his see; and scrupled not to call the eloquent, and in all religious tenets and principles absolutely blameless Christian orator, a second Judas.[y] The general voice of Christendom alone compelled him to desist from this posthumous persecution. Nor was Cyril content without surpassing his haughty kinsman in the pretensions of his archiepiscopate. From his accession, observes the ecclesiastical historian of the time, the bishops of Alexandria aspired, far beyond the limits of the sacerdotal power, to rule with sovereign authority.[z] They confronted, and, as will appear, contended on equal terms and with the same weapons, against the Imperial magistracy.[a]

The first act of Cyril's episcopacy was that of a persecutor. He closed the churches of the Novatians, seized and confiscated all their sacred treasures, and stripped the bishop of all his possessions. The

Cyril's Persecutions.

The Novatians.

[y] Epist. ad Attic. apud Labbe, 204.

[z] καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκεινου ἡ ἐπισκόπη Ἀλεξανδρείας, παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Socrat. H. E. vii. 7.

[a] Ibid. loc. cit.

war which he commenced against the heretics he con-
The Jews. tinued against the Jews and heathens. But the numerous and wealthy Jews of Alexandria, who multiplied as fast as they were diminished by their own feuds or feuds with the Christians, were not to be oppressed so easily as a small and unpopular sect of Christians. Cyril must have been well acquainted with the fierce and violent temperament of the Alexandrian populace, and with their proverbial character, that their factions never ended without bloodshed.[b] But Cyril had himself too much of the hot Egyptian blood in his veins; and the bishop, instead of allaying this sanguinary propensity by the gentle and humanizing influences of Christianity, was rarely the last to raise the banner of strife, never the first to lay it down, never laid it down until his enemies were prostrate at his feet. Both Jews and Christians in Alexandria had so far departed from the primitive habits of their religion, that their most frequent and dangerous collisions took place in the theatre; and the drama, in its noblest form a part of the pagan religion, had now degenerated into such immodest or savage exhibitions, or in itself gave rise to such maddening factions, that instead of allaying hostile feelings by the common amusement and hilarity, it inflamed them to fiercer animosity.[c] The contested merits of a pantomimic actor now exasperated the mutual hatred of the religious parties. Orestes, the prefect of the city, determined to suppress these tumults, and ordered strict police regulations to that effect to be hung up in the theatre. Certain partisans of the archbishop entered the theatre, with the innocent design, it is said, of reading this proclamation. Among these was one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an admirer of Cyril, whom he was wont (according to common usage in the church) to applaud vehemently whenever he preached. From what cause is not quite clear, the Jews supposed themselves insulted by the pre-

[b] δίχα γὰρ αἵματος οὐ παύεται τῆς ὄρμης. Socrat. vii. 13.

[c] These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their Synagogue.—Hist. of Jews, iii. 199.

sence of Hierax;[d] they raised a violent outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous, it is said, of the archbishop on account of his encroachments on the civil authority, sided with the Jews, ordered Hierax to be seized as a disturber of the peace and publicly scourged. The archbishop sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate the menace of their adversaries. Having put on rings of palm bark, in order to distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry that the great church, called that of Alexander, was on fire. The Christians rose and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell upon them and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The archbishop placed himself at the head of a formidable force, attacked the synagogue of the Jews, expelled the whole race, no doubt not without much bloodshed, from the city, and allowed the populace to pillage all their vast wealth. The Jews, who from the time of Alexander had inhabited the city, were thus cast forth naked and outraged from its walls. The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of so many thriving and opulent Jews from the city, warrant the suspicion that their rising was not without great provocation. Both parties sent representations to the Emperor: in the interval Cyril was compelled by the people of Alexandria to make overtures of reconciliation.[e] On one occasion he went forth to meet Orestes with the Gospel in his hand: the prefect, probably supposing that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused his advances.

The monks of the Nitrian desert had already been employed in the persecutions by Theophilus. These fiery champions of the Church took arms, to the number of five hundred, and poured into the city to

Monks of Nitria.

[d] My suggestion, in a former work, that these regulations might have appointed different days for the different races of the people to attend the theatre, would make the story more clear. The excuse which Socrates suggests for the presence of Hierax implies that he had no business there.

[e] τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων αὐτὸν ποιῆν κατηνάγκαζεν. Socrat. loc. cit.

strengthen the faction of the patriarch. They surrounded the chariot of the prefect, insulted him, and heaped on him the opprobrious names of heathen and idolater. The prefect protested, but in vain, that he had been baptized by Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople. One of these monks, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone and struck him on the head; the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants fled on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the people. The Alexandrians rose in defence of their magistrate; the monks were driven from the city; Ammonius seized, tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up: the honours of a Christian martyr were prostituted on this insolent ruffian; his panegyric was pronounced in the Church, and he was named Thaumasius, the Wonderful. But the more Christian of the Christians were shocked at the conduct of the Archbishop. Cyril was for once ashamed, and glad to bury the affair in oblivion.

But before long his adherents were guilty of a more atrocious and an unprovoked crime, of the guilt of which a deep suspicion attached to Cyril. All Alexandria respected, honoured, took pride in the celebrated Hypatia. She was a woman of extraordinary learning; in her was centred the lingering knowledge of that Alexandrian Platonism cultivated by Plotinus and his school. Her beauty was equal to her learning; her modesty commended both. She mingled freely with the philosophers without suspicion to her lofty and unblemished character. Hypatia lived in great intimacy with the prefect Orestes; the only charge whispered against her was that she encouraged him in his hostility to the patriarch. Cyril, on the other hand, is said not to have been superior to an unworthy jealousy at the greater concourse of hearers to the lectures of the elegant Platonist than to his own sermons.[f] Some of Cyril's ferocious partisans seized this woman, dragged her from her chariot, and with the most revolting indecency tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb.[g] The Christians of Alexandria did this, professing to be actuated by Christian

Hypatia.

[f] Socrates, H. E. vii. 13.

[g] Damascius apud Suidam.

zeal in the cause of a Christian prelate. No wonder, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian, that by such a deed a deep stain was fixed on Cyril and the Church of Alexandria.[h]

It was this man who now stood forth as the head and representative of Eastern Christendom, the assertor of pure Christian doctrine, the antagonist of heresy on the episcopal throne of Constantinople. Cyril was not blind to the advantage offered by this opportunity of humiliating or crushing by this odious imputation the Bishop of the Imperial See, which aspired to dispute with Alexandria the primacy of the East. The patriarchs of Alexandria had seen the rise of Constantinople with undissembled jealousy. To this primacy Antioch, perhaps Jerusalem, might advance some pretensions. Ephesus boasted of her connexion with St. John. But Byzantium had been a poor see under the jurisdiction of Heraclea; its claim rested entirely on the city having become the seat of empire. This jealousy had been, no doubt, the latent cause of the bitter and persevering hostility of Theophilus towards Chrysostom. The more ambitious Cyril might now renew the contest with less suspicion of unworthy motives; he was waging war, not against a rival, but against a heretic. Cyril against Nestorius.

The intelligence of the disturbances in Constantinople and the unpopular doctrines favoured at least by Nestorius spread rapidly to Alexandria; the monks of both regions probably maintained a close correspondence. Cyril commenced his operations by an Easter sermon, in which, without introducing the name of Nestorius, he denounced his doctrines. He followed up the blow with four epistles, at certain intervals: one addressed to his faithful partisans, the monks of Egypt; one to the Emperor; one to the Empress mother, the guardian of her son; the last to Nestorius himself. The address to the Emperor commences in an Oriental tone of adulation, the servility of which would have been as abhorrent to an ancient Roman as its impiety to a primitive Christian. The Emperor is

[h] τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν μῶμον Κυρίλλῳ, καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰργάσατο. Socrat. loc. cit.

the image of God upon earth: as the Divine Majesty fills heaven and awes the angels, so his serene dignity the earth, and is the source of all human happiness. This Emperor was the feeble boy, Theodosius II. To the Empresses, the mother and the sister of Theodosius, as more worthy auditors, and judges better qualified to enter on such high mysteries, Cyril pours out all the treasures of his theology. In the letter to Nestorius, who, it seems, had taken offence at the dissemination of the address to the Egyptian monks in Constantinople, Cyril states, with some calmness, that the whole Christian world, Rome, Syria, Alexandria, were equally shocked by the denial of the title "Mother of God" to the Blessed Virgin.[i] This epistle was followed by a second, which called forth an answer from Nestorius. This answer, as well as the whole of the controversy, more completely betrays the leading notions which had obtained such full possession of the mind of Nestorius. The Godhead, as immaterial, is essentially impassible. The co-eternal Word must be impassible, as the co-eternal Father.[k] The human nature was the temple in which dwelt the serene and impassive Divinity. To degrade the Divinity to the brute and material processes of gestation, birth, passion, death, the inalienable accidents of the flesh and the flesh alone, was pure heathenism, or a heresy worse than that of Arius or Apollonius. Cyril himself is driven by this difficulty to the very verge of Nestorian opinions, and to admit that the Godhead cannot properly be asserted to have suffered wounds and death.[m] But throughout this age the strong

[i] Labbe, Concil. iii. p. 51.

[k] *καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον τῶν πατέρων ἐυρήσεις χορὸν, οὐ τὴν ὁμοούσιον θεότητα παθητὴν εἰρηκοτα, οὐδὲ ἀναστᾶσαν τὸν τὸν λελυμένον ναὸν ἀναστήσαντα.* Epist. Nestor., apud Labbe, p. 321. *τὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαθῆ κηρύχθεντα, καὶ δευτέρας γεννήσεως ἀδεκτον, πάλιν παθητὸν, καὶ νεόκτιστον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἴσηγεν*, p. 322. This is throughout the point at issue. Compare the third part (in the Concil. Labbe) containing the twelve chapters of Cyril, the objections of the Oriental prelates, and the apology of Cyril for each separate chapter. The one party contend against the passibility, the mutability of the Godhead; Christ being God, is *ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος*. The flesh, which endured all the passion and the change was intimately connected with the Deity; was its pavilion, its dwelling-place; and this may explain "The Word became Flesh." Compare pp. 844, 881, 892.

[m] Cyril was reduced to the expression *ἀπαθῶς ἔπαθε*. We find, too, this remarkable passage: *οὐχ ὅτι πάντως αὐτὸς ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ φυσὶν γεννηθεὶς λόγος ἀπίθανεν, ἢ ἐνύχθη τῇ λόγχῃ εἰς τὴν πλευράν, ποίαν γὰρ ἔχει, εἴπε μοι, πλευρὰν τὸ ἀσώματον, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀπίθανεν ἡ ζωὴ· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνωθεὶς τῇ σαρκὶ, ἔπειτα πασχούσης αὐτῆς, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πάσχοντος σώματος, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν οἰκειοῦται τὸ παθὸς*. In the Alexandrian Liturgy of S. Gregory, this expression has been intro-

repulsive power of religious difference subdues the feebler attractive force of conciliation and peace. The epistolary altercation between Cyril and Nestorius grew fiercer, and with less hope of reconcilement. Nestorius, though he might not foresee the formidable confederacy which was organising itself against him, might yet have known on what dangerous ground he stood even in Constantinople. The clergy of both factions, who had engaged in the strife for the advancement of Philippus or of Proclus, the rivals of the ruling archbishop for the see, mutually indignant at the intrusion of a stranger, were already combined in hatred towards Nestorius. All the monks were furious partisans of the "Mother of God." Against this confederacy Nestorius could array only the precarious favour of the Emperor, the support of some of his Syrian brethren, his archiepiscopal authority, and the allegiance of some of his clergy. Nestorius rashly precipitated the strife. Dorotheus, a bishop of his party, in his presence pronounced a solemn anathema on all who should apply the contested appellation to the Virgin.[n] A fiery and injurious protest[o] was immediately issued, professing to speak the sentiments of the whole clergy of Constantinople, and peremptorily condemning the bishop, as guilty of heresy, and comparing his language to the unpopular and proscribed opinions of Paul of Samosata. It was read in most of the churches.[p]

State of Constantinople.

Both parties, Nestorius and Cyril, themselves could not but look with earnest solicitude to Rome. She held the balance of power. If the Bishop of Rome had been the most unambitious of mankind, he could hardly have declined the arbitration, which was almost an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Nothing tended more to his elevation in the mind of Christendom

Both parties turn to Rome.

duced, καὶ παθὼν ἐκουσίως σαρκὶ, καὶ μείνας ἀπαθὴς ὡς θεός. Apud Renaudot, I. p. 114.

[n] The chronology of the events is not quite clear, but this seems to be the natural order.

[o] This protest preserves some of the expressions attributed to Nestorius. "How could a mother, born in time, give birth to him who was before the ages?" The word "birth," it occurred to neither party, was used in directly opposite senses.

[p] Compare the strong address of the monks to the Emperor, p. 225.

than these successive Eastern controversies, if considered only as affecting his dignity in the eyes of the world. The deeper the East was sunk in anarchy and confusion, the more commanding the stately superiority of Rome. While the episcopal throne of Constantinople had been held in succession by the persecuted Chrysostom, by the heretic Nestorius, as it was afterwards by Flavianus, who, if not murdered, died of ill usage in a council of bishops; that of Alexandria by Theophilus, and his nephew Cyril, whose violence disgraced their orthodoxy; a succession of able, at least blameless, Pontiffs of Rome was now about to close with Leo the Great.[q]

Each, too, of these Eastern antagonists for ascendancy was disposed to admit one part of the claims on which rested the supremacy of Rome. Alexandria, that of the descent from St. Peter. Ancient and apostolic origin was so clearly wanting to Constantinople, that on this point the Roman superiority was undeniable. On her side, Constantinople was content to recognise the title of Rome to superiority, as the city of the Cæsars, from whence followed her own secondary, if not co-equal dignity, as New Rome.

Pope Celestine.

Celestine, of Roman birth, who had held high language to the Churches of Africa and of Gaul, at this present period was Bishop of Rome.

Nestorius was the first who endeavoured to propitiate the Roman Pontiff. Some misunderstanding had already arisen between them concerning certain Pelagians, the only heretics whom Nestorius was slow to persecute; and whom, as if ignorant how obnoxious they were to Rome and the West, he had treated with something of Eastern indifference. He addressed to Celestine a letter, fully explaining the grounds of his aversion to the term "Mother of God." This he wrote in Greek; it was sent into Gaul, to be correctly translated by the famous monk Cassianus.[r]

In the mean time arrived the Deacon Posidonius from

[q] Not immediate succession, but the succession of the greater names.

[r] Celestinus ad Nestorium. Walch rather throws doubt on this translation by Cassian, p. 433.

Alexandria, with an elaborate letter from Cyril,[u] which, with the Sermons of Nestorius, he had the forethought to send already translated into Latin. Thus the hostile representations of Cyril, though delivered last, obtained the advantage of pre-occupying the minds of the Roman clergy.[x]

To them, indeed, the Nestorian opinions were utterly uncongenial, as to the whole of Western Christendom. They had not comprehended and could not comprehend that sensitive dread of the contamination of the Deity by its connexion with Matter: they were equally jealous of any disparagement of the Virgin Mary. Already her name, with the title of Mother of God, had sounded in hymns, ascribed to St. Ambrose, and admitted into the public service. The Latin language was not flexible to all the fine shades of expression by which Nestorius defined his distinctive differences from the common creed.

Still Nestorius was not entirely without hope of obtaining a favourable hearing from Celestine. The first reply of the Roman was not devoid of courtesy. But his hopes were in a short time utterly confounded. A synod of Western Bishops, presided over by Celestine, met at Rome. The sentence was decisive, condemnatory, imperious. Celestine, in the name of the Synod, and in his own,[y] commanded Nestorius to recant his novel and unauthorised opinions in a public and written apology within ten days from the arrival of the monition: in case of disobedience, he was to hold himself under excommunication from the Church.[z]

A.D. 430, August. Mandate of Celestine. Aug. 11.

This haughty mandate to Nestorius was accompanied by an address to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It expressed the parental care of Celestine for their spiritual welfare, and announced the decree which had been issued against Nestorius by the Bishop of Rome. The Western Church would take no account of any anathema

[u] Posidonius was instructed not to deliver the letters of Cyril, if those of Nestorius had not been delivered to Celestine.—Statement of Peter the Presbyter, Concil. Ephes. in init.

[x] Nestorius bitterly complained of the misrepresentations of Cyril in this letter, by which he deceived Celestine, a man of too great simplicity to judge of religious doctrines with sufficient acuteness. —Irenæi Tragœd. in Synodic.

[y] φωνῇ καὶ ἐγγράφῳ ὁμολογίᾳ. p. 361.

[z] Epist. Cyrill. p. 396.

or excommunication pronounced by the Bishop of Constantinople; but having declared such anathema null and void, would continue to communicate with all persons under such interdict. And because the presence of Celestine in the East, however necessary, was impossible, on account of the distance by land and sea, he delegated his full power in the affair to his brother Cyril, in order to arrest the spreading pestilence.[a]

Bishops of Syria.

The Syrian bishops alone, of those who, from their station and character, had weight in the Christian world, were yet uncommitted in the strife —Acacius of Berea, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Antioch. Each party courted their support. Cyril, with his usual activity, urged them to unite in the confederacy against Nestorius. Either from the sincere love of peace, or some clearer perception of the principles on which Nestorius grounded his opinions, or some secret sympathy with them, these bishops endeavoured to allay the storm. John of Antioch, in a letter full of Christian persuasiveness, entreated Nestorius not to plunge Christendom into discord on account of a word, and that word not incapable of being interpreted in his sense, but which had become familiar to the Christian ear. Rome, Alexandria, even Macedonia, had declared against him. John required no degrading concession, no disingenuous compromise or suppression of opinion. If his enemies were strong and violent before the correspondence had begun with Rome and Alexandria, how would their boldness increase after these unhappy letters[b] from Cyril and from Celestine! But the time for reconciliation was passed. Four bishops,

Celestine's envoys in Constantinople.

Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Komarius, arrived in Constantinople, with the ultimate demands of Rome and Alexandria. They entered, after divine service, the Bishop's chamber, where were

[a] καὶ ἔστιδὴ ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ἡ ἡμιστέρα σχεδὸν παρουσία ἀναγκαία ἐφαίνετο, τὴν ἡμιστέραν διαδοχὴν, διὰ τὰ κατὰ θαλάτταν καὶ γῆν διαστήματα, αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀδελφῷ μοῦ Κυρίλλῳ ἀπενείμαμεν, μὴ αὐτὴ ἡ νόσος ἄφορμὴ τῆς μακρότητος ἐπίτριβῇ. Epist. Cyril. p. 373.

[b] γραμμάτων τούτων τῶν ἀπευκτῶν. Epist. Joan. Antioch. p. 393. Nestorius had almost consented to yield so far as to assert that it was not so much the word itself as the abuse of it which was irreconcilable with his views of the Godhead.

assembled the whole clergy, and many of the most distinguished laity: they delivered the letters to Nestorius. Nestorius received them coldly, and commanded them to return the next day for the answer. The next day when they presented themselves, they were refused admission.[c] Nestorius ascended the pulpit, and preached in sterner and more condemnatory language than before. Celestine and Cyril had demanded unqualified submission: Cyril had declared that it was not enough to subscribe the Creed of Nicea, without receiving the sense of that Creed according to the interpretation of the Bishops of the Church. The twelve articles of excommunication were promulgated, by the zeal of the Bishop's adversaries, throughout Constantinople. But Nestorius, unappalled, on his side launched forth his interdict; anathema encountered anathema. Nestorius excluded from salvation those who denied salvation to him. For in the awful meaning which the act of excommunication conveyed to the Christian mind of that age, it meant total exclusion,—unless after humiliating penitence, and hard-wrung absolution from the mercy of the Most High,—inevitable, everlasting damnation.

Nestorius excommunicated, Dec. 6. 430.

With stern serenity the enemies of Nestorius contemplate these awful consequences; those of worldly strife they behold almost with satisfaction. Cyril applies to these times the much misused words of the Saviour,—"*Think not that I am come to send peace upon earth: for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother.*" If faith be infringed—faith even in these minutest points—away with idle and dangerous reverence for parents; cast off all love of children and of brethren. Death is better than life to the pious (those who adhere to the orthodox opinions), for to them alone is the better resurrection.[d]

The anathemas of Nestorius are not less remorseless.

[c] The account of this transaction is given by the Bishops Theopemptus and the rest.

[d] *πίστεως γὰρ ἀδικουμένης * * * ἐῤῥέτω μὲν ὡς ἴωλος καὶ ἐπισφαλὴς ἡ πρὸς γονέας αἰδὼς· ἠρεμείτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς εἰς τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς φιλοστοργίας νόμος.* Cyril. Epist. p. 396.

They aim at involving Cyril, also, in the odious charge of heresy. Throughout is manifest the peculiar jealousy of Nestorius lest he should mingle up the Deity in any way with the material flesh of man. Christ was the Emmanuel, the God with us. The Divinity assumed at his birth the mortal form and attributes, and so became the Christ, the co-existent God and man. The Christ laid aside the manhood, which he had associated to his divinity, after his death and resurrection. Accursed is he who asserts that the Word of God was changed into flesh. Accursed is he who disparages the dignity of the divine nature by attributing to it the acts and passions of the human nature which it assumed for the display of its Godhead.[e]

Nestorius excommunicates Cyril.

The secret of the undaunted courage shown by Nestorius was soon revealed. He had still unshaken possession of the mind of the Imperial Court. The triumph of Cyril was arrested by an humiliating rescript from Theodosius. He was arraigned not merely for disturbing the peace of the world, but even that of the Imperial family. The rescript addressed to Cyril, in unambiguous language, relates his haughty and dictatorial demeanour, reproves him as the author of all the strife and confusion which disturbed the tranquillity of the Church. In order to sow dissension even in the palace, Cyril had written in different language to his august sister Pulcheria, and to the Empress and himself. The same curious, restless, insolent, and unpriestly spirit had led him to pry into the secrets and disturb the harmony of the Imperial family, as well as to confound the quiet of the Church, as though this confusion were his only means of obtaining fame and distinction.[f]

His influence at Court.

Theodosius had already acceded to the universal demand

[e] The anathemas of Nestorius are extant only in a bad Latin translation. It is curious to find the Syrian bishop, Acacius, urging that the poverty of the Latin language prevented it from forming expressions with regard to the Trinity equivalent to the Greek. τῷ ἰσχνῶσθαι τὴν Ρωμαικὴν φωνὴν, καὶ μὴ δυνάσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν Γραικων φρασιν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγειν. Epist. Acac. p. 384.

[f] καὶ μὴ γεγονὸς (hostility in the Imperial family) ποιῆσαι βούλεσθαι παντὸς, μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερέως· ὁρμῆς μέντοι μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προθεσίως τά τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὰ τε τῶν βασιλεων μέλλειν χωρίζειν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας εὐδοκιμήσεως. Sacr. Theodos. Imper. ad Cyrill.

for a General Council. This alone, according to the opinion of the time, could allay the intestine strife which had set Rome and Alexandria at variance with Constantinople, divided Constantinople into fierce and violent factions, and appeared likely to renew the fatal differences of the Arian and Macedonian contests. The Imperial summons was issued, and in obedience to that mandate assembled the first General Council of Ephesus. Council of Ephesus.

It might have been supposed that nowhere would Christianity appear in such commanding majesty as in a Council, which should gather from all quarters of the world the most eminent prelates and the most distinguished clergy; that a lofty and serene piety would govern all their proceedings; profound and dispassionate investigation exhaust every subject; human passions and interests would stand rebuked before that awful assembly; the sense of their own dignity as well as the desire of impressing their brethren with the solemnity and earnestness of their belief would at least exclude all intemperance of manner and language. Mutual awe and mutual emulation in Christian excellence would repress, even in the most violent, all un-Christian violence; their conclusions would be grave, mature, harmonious, for if not harmonious the confuted party would hardly acquiesce in the wisdom of their decrees; even their condemnations would be so tempered with charity as gradually to win back the wanderer to the still open fold, rather than drive him, proscribed and branded, into inflexible and irreconcilable schism. History shows the melancholy reverse. Nowhere is Christianity less attractive, and, if we look to the ordinary tone and character of the proceedings, less authoritative, than in the Councils of the Church. It is in general a fierce collision of two rival factions, neither of which will yield, each of which is solemnly pledged against conviction. Intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, decisions by wild acclamation rather than after sober inquiry, detract from the reverence, and impugn the judgments, at least of the later Councils. The close is almost invariably a terrible anathema, in which it is impossible not to discern General Councils.

the tones of human hatred, of arrogant triumph, of rejoicing at the damnation imprecated against the humiliated adversary. Even the venerable Council of Nicea commenced with mutual accusals and recriminations, which were suppressed by the moderation of the Emperor; and throughout the account of Eusebius[g] there is an adulation of the Imperial convert, with something of the intoxication, it might be of pardonable vanity, at finding themselves the objects of royal favour, and partaking in royal banquets. But the more fatal error of that Council was the solicitation, at least the acquiescence in the infliction of a civil penalty, that of exile, against the recusant Prelates. The degeneracy is rapid from the Council of Nicea to that of Ephesus, where each party came determined to use every means of haste, manœuvre, court influence, bribery, to crush his adversary; where there was an encouragement of, if not an appeal to the violence of the populace, to anticipate the decrees of the Council; where each had his own tumultuous foreign rabble to back his quarrel; and neither would scruple at any means to obtain the ratification of their anathemas by the persecution of the civil government.

Some considerations will at least allay our wonder at this singular incongruity. A General Council is not the cause, but the consequence, of religious dissension. It is unnecessary, and could hardly be convoked, but on extraordinary occasions, to settle some questions which have already violently disorganised the peace of Christendom. It is a field of battle, in which a long train of animosities and hostilities is to come to an issue. Men, therefore, meet with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by a fierce and obstinate controversy. They meet to triumph over their adversaries, rather than dispassionately to investigate truth. Each is committed to his opinions, each exasperated by opposition, each supported by a host of intractable followers, each probably with exaggerated notions of the importance of the question; and that importance seems to increase, since it

[g] Hist. of Christianity, ii. p. 440.

has demanded the decision of a general assembly of Christendom. Each considers the cause of God in his hands: heresy becomes more and more odious, and must be suppressed by every practicable means. The essentially despotic character of the government, which entered into all transactions of life, with the deeply rooted sentiment in the human mind of the supreme and universal power of the law, the law now centered in the person of the Emperor, who was the State; the apparent identification of the State and Church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangerous and unchristian principle which it tended to establish. As the Council met under the Imperial authority, so it seemed to commit the Imperial authority to enforce its decisions. Christianity, which had so nobly asserted its independence of thought and faith in the face of heathen emperors, threw down that independence at the foot of the throne, in order that it might forcibly extirpate the remains of Paganism, and compel an absolute uniformity of Christian faith.

Meeting of Council, A.D. 431. Easter, April 19; Whit-Sunday, June 7.

The Council of Ephesus was summoned to open its deliberations at Pentecost; the fifty days from Easter were allowed for the assembling of the Prelates.

Candidianus, Count of the domestics, a statesman of high character, was appointed to represent the Emperor in the Council. His instructions were, not to interfere in the theological question, the exclusive province of the Bishops; to expel all strangers, monks and laymen, from the city, lest they should disturb the proceedings; to maintain order, lest the animosities of the Bishops should prevent the fair investigation of the truth; to permit no one to leave the Council, even under pretence of going to the Court; to permit no extraneous discussions to be introduced before the assembly. Candidianus did not arrive till after Pentecost.

Already, however, Ephesus had begun to be crowded with strangers from all quarters. Nestorius came accom-

panied by not more than sixteen Bishops of his party. Cyril arrived attended by fifty Egyptian Bishops; Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, a declared enemy of Nestorius, had summoned thirty Prelates from Asia Minor. Nor were these antagonists content with mustering their spiritual strength; each was accompanied by a rabble of followers of more unseemly character; Cyril by the bath-men and a multitude of women from Egypt; Nestorius by a horde of peasants, and some of the lower populace of Constantinople. The troops of Candidianus, after his arrival, begirt the city; Irenæus, with a body of soldiers, was entrusted, by the special favour of the Emperor, with the protection of the person of Nestorius.

The adverse parties could not await the opening of the Council without betraying their hostility; skirmishing disputes took place,[h] and no opportunity was passed of darkening the fame and the opinions of Nestorius in the popular mind. If Nestorius came under the fond hope of being heard on equal terms, and allowed to debate in a calm and dispassionate spirit the truth of his tenets, such were not the views of Cyril or of Celestine. To them the Bishop of Constantinople was already a condemned heretic; the business of the Council was only the confirmation of their anathema, and the more authoritative deposition of the unorthodox Prelate. With them the one embarrassing difficulty was whether, in case Nestorius recanted his opinions, they were to annul the sentence of excommunication and of deposal, and admit him to a seat in the Council.[k]

Memnon of Ephesus lent himself eagerly to all the

[h] ἀκροσολίσμους τῶν λογῶν. Socrat. vii. 34. Joanne Antiocheno remerante * * * Cyrillus deflorationes quasdam librorum Nestorii faciebat, eum perturbare volens. Et quum plurimi Deum confiterentur Jesum Christum, ego, inquit Nestorius, qui fuit duorum vel trium mensium, nunquam confiteor Deum; quâ gratiâ mundus sum a sanguine vestro, et ammodo ad vos non veniam. Liberatus, Chron. c. 5. This is a good illustration of the Latin misconception of the opinions of Nestorius.

[k] Etenim quæris utrum sancta synodus recipere debet hominem a se prædicata damnantem; an quia inducarum tempus emensum est, sententia dudum lata perduret. This is from an answer to a letter of Cyril which is lost. Celestine's reply to this question is perhaps studiously ambiguous. But the letter, as extant, is probably a translation. The secret instructions of Celestine to his legates (apud Baluzium, p. 381) show his intimate alliance with Cyril.—Labbe, Conc. p. 622. Compare Walch, p. 466.

schemes of Cyril. Nestorius was treated as a man under the ban of excommunication: all intercourse, even the common courtesies of life, were refused. All the Churches of Ephesus were closed against the outcast from Christian communion. When he expressed his solicitude, if not to attend the morning and evening service, at least to partake in the solemn mysteries of that season, not merely was he ignominiously repelled from the Churches, even from that of the Martyr St. John, but the avenues were beset by throngs of rude peasants brought in from the country, and prepared for any violence, and by the Egyptian sailors from the vessels of Cyril.[m] Memnon of Ephesus.

Pentecost had passed; five days after arrived Juvenalis, Bishop of Jerusalem, a Prelate known to be hostile to Nestorius. But John of Antioch, with the greater part of the Eastern Bishops, did not appear. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria were arrayed as parties in the cause: each charged the other with heresy. The Roman Patriarch of the West was not present in person: the Patriarch of Antioch, therefore, might seem necessary, if not to the validity, to the weight and dignity of the Council. Cyril and his partisans were clamorous for the immediate opening of the Council; the Bishops had been already too long withdrawn from their dioceses. Nestorius insisted on awaiting the arrival of John of Antioch and his Prelates; Candidianus gave the weight of the Imperial authority for delay. The Emperor had required the presence of John of Antioch and the Eastern Prelates at the Council.[n] Strong reasons were afterwards alleged by John of Antioch for his tardy arrival. His departure from Antioch had been arrested by a famine in the city, and daily insurrections of the people on that account; inundations had impeded his march.[o] Many of the Bishops of his vast province were ten or twelve long days' journey beyond Antioch; they could not leave their cities before Easter.[p] Cyril himself Juvenal of Jerusalem.

[m] Epist. Nestorii, p. 565. Epist. ad Imper. p. 602. Epist. ad Senat. 603.

[n] Defens. trium Capitulor. Facundus, apud Sirmond. Opera, ii. p. 607.

[o] The epistle of John of Antioch to the Emperor.

[p] Evagrius, H. E. i. 3, 4. Labbe, Concil. p. 443.

had received a courteous letter from John of Antioch, stating that he had arrived within six stations of Ephesus; that he was travelling with the utmost speed, but that the roads were bad: they had lost many of their beasts of burden; and some of the more aged Bishops had been unable to proceed at that rapid rate.

Cyril, however, chose to consider the delay of the Bishop of Antioch intentional and premeditated, either in order to shield the guilty Nestorius from the anathema of the Council, or to escape any participation in such a sentence against one so well known, and formerly at least so popular, in Antioch.[q]

Opening of Council, Monday, June 22.

Only sixteen days were allowed to elapse by the impatient zeal (the noblest motive that can be assigned) of Cyril for the opening a Council which was to represent Christendom, to absolve or to condemn as an irreclaimable heretic the Bishop of the second capital of the world. On Monday, the 22nd of June, in the Church of the Virgin Mary, (an ill-omened scene for the cause of Nestorius,) met the Council of Ephesus.[r]

The Count Candidianus, in a public report to his Imperial master, describes the violence, unfairness, even the treachery of the proceedings. No sooner had he heard that Cyril, Memnon, and their partisans were prepared to open the assembly, than he hastened to the Church. In the Emperor's name, he inhibited the meeting; he condescended to entreaties that they would await the arrival of the Eastern Bishops; he declared that they were acting in defiance of the Imperial Rescript. They answered that they were ignorant of the contents of that ordinance. Thus

[q] Cyril's imputations against John of Antioch are inconsistent and contradictory. In one place he charges him with hypocrisy, and insinuates that he kept aloof to favour Nestorius (if the partisan of Nestorius, his presence would have been more useful than his absence); in another, that, conscious of the badness of the cause of Nestorius, he kept aloof to avoid taking any part in his inevitable condemnation: "Do what you will (πράττειν ἃ πράττειν), only let me not be personally involved in the business." Compare Cyril's Letter to the Clergy of Constantinople, p. 561, with the Epistol. Imper., p. 602.

[r] The effect of this arrangement may be conceived from the Sermon of Cyril (Labbe, p. 584), in which he lavishes all his eloquence in her praise, through whom (δι' ἧς) all the wonders and blessings of the Gospel, which he recites, descended on man.

compelled, and lest he should be the cause of popular insurrection and rebellion, Candidianus read the Rescript; and concluded by solemnly warning them against their indecent precipitation. This was their object; the reading the Rescript they considered as legalising the Council; it was followed by loud and loyal clamours. The Count fondly supposed that these cries intimated obedience to the Imperial command; instead of this, they instantly commanded Candidianus to withdraw from an assembly in which he had no longer any place; insultingly and ignominiously they cast out the representative of the Emperor. They proceeded summarily to eject the few Bishops attached to Nestorius; and then commenced their proceedings as the legitimate Senate of Christendom.[s]

The council consisted of rather more than one hundred and fifty bishops—about forty from Egypt, thirty from Asia Minor, several from Palestine with Juvenalis of Jerusalem, the rest from Thrace, Greece, the islands Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and from some parts of Asia. Rufus of Thessalonica professed to represent the bishops of Illyricum.[t] The proceedings, according to the regular report, now that all opposition was expelled, flowed on in unobstructed haste and unprecedented harmony. Peter, an Alexandrian presbyter, who acted as chief secretary,[u] opened the business with a statement of the dispute between Nestorius on one hand, Cyril and the Bishop of Rome on the other. On the motion of Juvenal of Jerusalem was then read the Imperial convocation of the bishops. It was asked how long a period had elapsed since the day appointed by the Emperor for the meeting; Memnon of Ephesus replied "sixteen days." Cyril then rose, and asserting that on account of the long delay (of sixteen days!) some bishops had fallen ill, and some had died, declared that it was imperative to proceed at once to determine a question which concerned the whole

[s] See the statement of Candidianus, pp. 589-592. In another place he says, "A vobis injuriosè et ignominiosè ejectus sum."—In Synodico.

[t] According to Nestorius, not only the Eastern bishops were expected, but those of Italy and Sicily.

[u] πριμμικηριος Νοταριων. Primicerius Notariorum.

sublunary world.[x] The Imperial Rescript itself had commanded the prelates to proceed without delay.

Citation of Nestorius.

One citation had been already sent by four bishops, summoning Nestorius to appear before the council. Nestorius had declined, not uncourteously, to acknowledge the validity of the assembly before the arrival of all the bishops. A second and a third deputation of the same number of bishops was sent. The first reported that they were not permitted by the guard to approach the presence of Nestorius, but received from his attendants the same answer; the third that they were exposed to the indignity of being kept standing in the heat of the sun, and not allowed to enter the palace.

Proceedings commence.

The proceedings now commenced: the Nicene Creed was read, and then Cyril's letter to Nestorius. The bishops in succession declared their full faith in the creed, and the perfect concordance of Cyril's exposition with the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers. Then followed the answer of Nestorius to Cyril. Cyril put the question of its agreement with the creed of Nicea. One after another the bishops rose, and in language more or less vehement, pronounced the tenets of Nestorius to be blasphemous, and uttered the stern anathema. All then joined in one tumultuous cry, "Anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius." The church rang with the fatal and re-echoed word, "Anathema, anathema! The whole world unites in the excommunication: anathema on him who holds communion with Nestorius!"

The triumph of Cyril ceased not here. The condemnatory letters of Celestine of Rome to Nestorius were read and inserted in the acts of the council. Certain bishops averred that of their personal knowledge Nestorius had not retracted his obnoxious doctrines. Then were read extracts from the works of the great theologians, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, and others; many of these were of very doubtful bearing on the question raised by Nestorius; they were contrasted with large extracts from his writings. A letter was read from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, ex-

[x] εἰς ἀφίλτιων ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ. p. 453.

cusing the absence of the African clergy on account of the miserable desolation and the wars which afflicted the province, asserting in general terms their cordial adherence to the Catholic doctrine, and their abhorrence of heretical innovations.

The Council, it is said, compelled by the sacred canons and amid the tears of many bishops, proceeded to deliver its awful sentence:[y] Jesus Christ himself, blasphemed by Nestorius, (so ran the decree,) declares him deposed from his episcopal rank, and from all his ecclesiastical functions. All the bishops subscribed the sentence.[z] The whole of this solemn discussion, with its fearful conclusion, was crowded into one day! The impatient populace had been waiting from morn till evening the issue of the Council. No sooner had they heard the deposition of this new Judas, than they broke out into joyous clamours; escorted the Prelates with torches to their homes; women went before them burning incense. A general illumination took place. Thus did the Saviour, writes Cyril, proudly recounting these popular suffrages, show his Almighty power against those who blasphemed his name.[a]

Decree of Council.

Five days after arrived John of Antioch, and the Eastern Prelates; they were received with great honour by Count Candidianus, by the other bishops not only with studied discourtesy, but with tumultuous and disorderly insult.[b] Nestorius kept aloof in judicious seclusion. These Prelates proceeded to instal themselves as a Council, under the sanction of the Imperial Commissary. Their first inquiry was whether the former Council had been conducted with canonical regularity, and the sentence passed after dispassionate investigation. Candidianus bore testimony to the indecent haste and precipitation of the decree. But instead of calmly protesting against these violent proceedings, and declaring them null and void, as wanting their own concurrent voice, this small synod of

Arrival of Syrian Bishops.

[y] ἀναγκαίως κατεπειχθέντες ὑπό τε τῶν κανόνων * * * δακρύσαντες πολλακὶς * * * σκυθρωπὴν ἀπόφασιν. Labbe, p. 533.

[z] Above two hundred names appear. Some perhaps were added as concurring in the sentence.

[a] Cyril's letter to the people of Alexandria.

[b] Compare, however, the statement of Memnon, a suspicious witness, p. 763.

between forty and fifty bishops,[c] rushed into the error which they had proscribed in others; with no calmer or longer inquiry, before they had shaken the dust off their feet,[d] they condemned the doctrines of Cyril, as tainted with Arianism, Eunomianism, and Apollinarianism; pronounced the sentence of deposition against the most religious Cyril (ecclesiastical courtesy held this appellation inseparable from that of bishop) and against Memnon of Ephesus; and recorded their solemn anathema against the Prelates of the adverse Council.[e] The sentence condemned not their heresy alone, but likewise their disobedience to the Imperial authority, and their impious violence in excluding the faithful from the holy ceremonies of Pentecost, their closing the churches, and besetting them with gangs of Egyptian sailors and ecclesiastics, and with Asiatic boors. The excommunication was published throughout the city with the solemnity of an Imperial proclamation. Cyril and Memnon launched a counter-anathema; and instead of abstaining, as excommunicated persons, from the sacred offices, celebrated them with greater pomp and publicity.

July 10. Letters of Celestine.

In the mean time letters arrived from the Bishop of Rome, Celestine. Cyril's council reassembled to receive them; every sentence was in such full accordance with their views, that the whole assembly rose in acclamation. "The council renders thanks to the second Paul, Celestine; to the second Paul, Cyril; to Celestine, protector of the faith; to Celestine, unanimous with the council. One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith in the whole council, one faith throughout the world."[f] The Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, with Philip the Presbyter, the legates of Rome, gave their deliberate sanction to the deposition of Nestorius. At another sitting it was reported that endeavours had been made to bring John of Antioch, now accused as an accomplice in the

[c] These bishops did not all come with John; some were of those previously assembled at Ephesus, who had refused to take part in the council. Their adversaries assert that some of them were deprived bishops, others not bishops at all. According to this statement John's party did not amount to more than thirty. —Epist. Cyril. et Memnon. p. 638.

[d] Cyril, Epist. ad Celestin. p. 663.

[e] Labbe, Concil. 599.

[f] Actio Secunda Concilii, p. 618.

guilt and heresy of Nestorius, to an amicable conference. Three bishops, deputed to him, had been repelled by the fierce and turbulent soldiery who guarded his residence. A second deputation had been admitted to his presence. He loftily refused to enter into negotiations with excommunicated persons. On this report the council proceeded to annul all the decrees of John and his synod. Having thrice cited him to appear, they declared John of Antioch deposed and excommunicated, as well as all the bishops of his party.[g] Cyril was not idle in his more public sphere of influence. He thundered from the pulpit against the bold man who had interfered in his triumphant conflict with the dragon of heresy, which vomited out its poison against the Church; he asserted that he was ready to encounter this new Goliath with the arms of faith.[h]

Violent contest.

Both parties were disposed to employ weapons of a more worldly temper. John of Antioch threatened the election of a new Bishop of Ephesus, in the place of the deprived Memnon.[k] A peaceful band of worshippers according to one account, more probably an armed host, determined to force their way into the cathedral of St. John. They found it beset by Memnon with a strong garrison. Content, according to their own partial statement, with worshipping without the doors, they were retreating in peace, when the partisans of Memnon made a desperate sally, took men and horses prisoners, assailed them, and drove them through the streets with clubs and stones, not without much bloodshed.[m]

Constantinople.

The court of Theodosius was perplexed with the contradictory and doubtful reports from Ephesus. Candidianus and the party of Nestorius jealously watched the issues of the city, that no representations from Cyril and his council should reach the imperial ear.

[g] The Bishop of Jerusalem claimed jurisdiction, as of ancient usage, over the see of Antioch.—p. 642.

[h] ἐπῆρεν, ὡς δοῦς ὁ πολυκέφαλος δράκων τὸν ἀνόσιον καὶ βίβηλον κεφαλὴν, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις τὸν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοσιότητος ἰὸν ἐπισπύων. "This Goliath from the East shall fall by stones from the scrip of Christ: and what is the scrip of Christ? the Church, which contains many stones, elect and precious." This is a specimen of the Archbishop's religious rhapsody.—Homil. Cyril. p. 667.

[k] Labbe, p. 710.

[m] Their own despatches urged, and no doubt exaggerated, the contempt of the imperial authority, the lawlessness of the rabble at the command of Cyril and of Memnon.

Theodosius still maintained his impartiality, or more probably a minister favourable to Nestorius ruled in the court. An imperial letter arrived, written in the interval between the deposition of Nestorius and the arrival of John of Antioch,[n] strongly reproving the proceedings of the council, annulling all its decrees, commanding the reconsideration of the creed by the whole assembly, forbidding any bishop to leave Ephesus till the close of the council, and announcing the appointment of a second commissary to assist the Count Candidianus. But all the watchfulness of the government and of Nestorius could not intercept the secret correspondence of Cyril's party with their faithful allies, the earliest and most inveterate enemies of Nestorius, the monks of Constantinople. A beggar brought a letter, announcing to them the glad tidings of the deposition of Nestorius, which the court had not condescended to communicate to the people. The court must be overawed; these spiritual demagogues would not await the tardy and doubtful orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Dalmatius, a monk of high repute for his austere sanctity, who, it is said, had in vain been solicited by the Emperor himself to quit his cell and intercede for the city during an earthquake, now, compelled by this more weighty call, came forth from his solitude. A vision had confirmed his sense of the imperious necessity. At the head of a procession of archimandrites and monks he passed slowly through the streets and sate down, as it were, to besiege the palace. Wherever he passed, the awed and wondering people burst out into an anathema against Nestorius.

Emperor's rescripts.

But the court did not as yet stoop from its lofty dictatorship in ecclesiastical affairs. A new Imperial Commissary, one of the highest officers of state, named John, appeared in Ephesus. His first measure was one of bold and severe impartiality, a vigorous assertion of the civil supremacy, humiliating to the pride of sacerdotal dignity. The Imperial letters sanctioned equally the

[n] It was sent in great haste, by the imperial officer, Palladius.

decrees of each conflicting party, the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, as well as of Nestorius. John summoned all the Prelates to his presence. At the dawn of morning appeared Nestorius with John of Antioch. Somewhat later, Cyril presented himself with the bishops of his party; Memnon alone refused to come. Hereupon arose a clamorous debate. Cyril and his bishops would not endure the presence of the heretical and excommunicated Nestorius. The divine and awful letters could not be read either in the absence of Cyril, or in the presence of Nestorius. The party of Nestorius and John as peremptorily demanded the expulsion of the deposed and excommunicated Cyril. The debate maddened into sedition, sedition into a battle. The Imperial Representative was compelled to use his military force to restrain the refractory churchmen, before he could read the Emperor's letters. At the sentence of deposition against Cyril and Memnon, the clamours broke out with fresh violence. John, the Prefect, took a commanding tone; he ordered the arrest and committal to safe but honourable custody of all the contending Prelates. Nestorius and John of Antioch submitted without remonstrance. Cyril, after a homily to the people, in which he represented himself as the victim of persecution, incurred by Apostolic innocence and borne with Apostolic resignation, yielded to the inevitable necessity. Memnon at first concealed himself, and attempted to elude apprehension, but at length voluntarily surrendered to the Imperial authority.

The throne was besieged, and confused by strong representations on both sides. At length it was determined that eight deputies for each party should be permitted to approach the court, and stand before the sacred presence of the Emperor. In Constantinople this assembly might cause dangerous tumults: they met therefore in the suburb of Chalcedon. On the side of Cyril appeared Philip the Presbyter, the representative of Pope Celestine, and the Western Bishop Arcadius, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavianus of Philippi, Firmus of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, Acacius of Melitene, Theodotus of Ancyra, Euoptius of Ptolemais. On that of the Orientals, the

Council of Chalcedon.

Metropolitans John of Antioch, John of Damascus, Himerius of Nicomedia; the Bishops Paul of Emesa, Macarius of Laodicea, Apringius of Chalcis, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Helladius of Ptolemais. Though the Bishop of Chalcedon endeavoured to close the churches on the Oriental Bishops, and the fanatic Monks from Constantinople threatened to stone them,[o] the people, according to their statement, listened with absorbed interest to the eloquence of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and to the mild exhortations of John of Antioch. The youthful Emperor himself, when they taunted the adverse doctrine with degrading the Godhead to a passible being, rent his robes at the blasphemy.[p] The Oriental Bishops gradually began to separate the cause of Nestorius from their own. They insist much more on the heresy of Cyril than on the orthodoxy of Nestorius. They accused him of asserting that the Godhead of the only begotten Son of God suffered, not the Manhood.[q] They protested that they would rather die than subscribe the twelve chapters of Cyril, in which the anti-Nestorian doctrine had now taken a determinate form; or communicate with a Prelate deposed by their legitimate authority.

Other influences were now at work at the court of Constantinople. The masculine but ascetic mind of Pulcheria, the sister, the guardian, the Empress, she may be called, of the Emperor, with her rigid devotion to orthodoxy, and her monastic character, was not likely to swerve from the dominant feeling of the Church; to comprehend the fine Oriental Spiritualism which would keep the Deity absolutely aloof from all intercourse with matter, as implied in his passibility: least of all, to endure any impeachment on the Mother of God, the tutelar Deity, and the glory of her sex. The power of the Virgin in the Court of Heaven was a precedent for that of holy females in the courts of

Pulcheria.

[o] "Nam Constantinopoli neque nos, neque adversarii nostri intrare permissi sumus, propter seditiones *bonorum* monachorum."—Epist. Oriental. p. 732.

[p] See the short but curious statement in Latin:—"Passibilem esse deitatem. Quod usque adeo gravatim tulit pius rex noster, ut excuteret pallium, et retrorsum cederet præ blasphemiæ multitudine."—p. 716.

[q] ὡς ἡ θεότης τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεοῦ υἱοῦ ἔπαθε, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης. This they considered nearly allied to Arianism, as making the Son a created being. See the full view of their tenets in the Epist. Oriental. p. 740.

earth. To the Virgin Empress, in later times, the gratitude of the triumphant party of Cyril and of the West attributed the glory of the degradation and banishment of Nestorius, and the discomfiture and dispersion of his followers. Still later, the Pope Leo addresses her as having expelled the crafty enemy from the Church: and her name was constantly saluted in the streets of Constantinople as the enemy of heretics.[r]

Nestorius was quietly abandoned by both parties. The secret of this change lies deeper in the recesses of the Imperial councils. The Eunuch minister, who had been his powerful supporter, died; he might, indeed, not long have enjoyed this treacherous favour, for the Eunuch had most impartially condescended to receive bribes from the opposite faction also. When the Emperor ordered his vast treasures to be opened, confiscated no doubt to the Imperial use, a receipt was found for many pounds of gold received from Cyril through Paul, his sister's son.[s] Nestorius abandoned.

Nestorius was allowed the vain honour of a voluntary abdication. From Ephesus he was permitted to retire to a monastery at Antioch. This monastery, that of St. Euprepius, had been the retreat of his early youth; he returned to it, having endured all the vicissitudes of promotion and degradation. There he lived in peace and respect for four years.

Cyril in the mean time had escaped or had been permitted to withdraw from the custody of the Imperial officers at Ephesus. He returned to Alexandria, where he was received in triumph as the great Champion of the Faith. Thence, from the security of his own capital, almost with the pride of an independent potentate, but with the unscrupulous use of all means at his command, he directed the movements of the theologic warfare, which was maintained for three weary years with the Oriental Prelates. The wealth of Alexandria was his Cyril in Alexandria.

[r] "Quo dudum subdolum sanctæ religionis hostem, ab ipsis visceribus ecclesiæ depulistis, quum hæresin suam tueri impietas Nestoriana non potuit."—S. Leon. Epist. 59.

[s] Epist. Acacii Berœens. ad Alexandrum Episc. Hierapol. Acacius heard this from John of Antioch.

most powerful ally. While yet at Chalcedon, the despondingOrientals complain that their judges are all bought by Egyptian gold.[t] But this fact rests even on more conclusive testimony. Maximian, a Roman, had been raised to the vacant see of Constantinople. His first measure betrayed his bearing. He commanded all the churches of Constantinople to be closed against the Oriental Bishops, who desired to pass over from Chalcedon to visit the capital, as being under the unrepealed ban of the Church. A letter has survived, addressed by Cyril's avowed agents to the Bishop of Constantinople. They urge the willing Prelate to endeavour to rouse the somewhat languid zeal of the Princess Pulcheria in the cause of Cyril, to propitiate all the courtiers, and, if possible, to satisfy their rapacity.[u] The females of the court were to be solicited with the utmost importunity; the monks, especially the Abbot Dalmatius, and Eutyches (afterwards himself an heresiarch), were to overawe the feeble Emperor by all the terrors of religion, and by no means neglect to impress the Lords of the Bedchamber with the same sentiments. They were to be lavish of money; already enormous sums had been sent from Egypt; 1500 pounds of gold had been borrowed of Count Ammonius; and the wealth of the Church of Constantinople was to be as prodigally devoted to the cause. Ministers were to be degraded, more obsequious ones raised to their posts by the influence of Pulcheria, in order to strengthen the pure doctrine, "the pure doctrine of Christ Jesus!"[x]

Synod of Chalcedon dissolved, A.D. 431.

Theodosius, weary of the strife, dissolved the meeting at Chalcedon, and thus the Council of Ephesus, which had assumed the dignity of the third

[t] This is asserted in the letter of Theodoret of Cyrus: "Nihil enim hinc boni sperandum, eo quod judices omnes auro confidant." . . . "Sic enim poterit Ægyptius omnes excæcare muneribus suis."—Epist. Legat. p. 746.

[u] Eunapius, the heathen, gives a frightful picture of the venality of the court of Pulcheria. See the new fragment in Niebuhr's Byzantine historians, p. 97.

[x] The Letter in the Synodicon. The Latin is very bad; in some parts unintelligible. A few sentences must be given:—"Et Dominum meum sanctissimum abbatem roga ut Imperatorem mandet, terribili cum conjuratione constringens, et ut cubicularios omnes ita constringat. . . . Sed de tuâ Ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, ne Alexandrinorum Ecclesiam contristent. . . . Festinet autem Sanctitas tua rogare Dominam Pulcheriam, ut faciat Dominum Lausum intrare et Præpositum fieri, ut Chrysoretis potentia dissolvatur, et sic *dogma nostrum roboretur*. Alioquin semper tribulandi sumus."

Ecumenical Council, was at an end. All, however, was still unreconciled hatred and confusion. The Oriental Bishops, as they returned home, found the churches at Ancyra and other cities of Asia Minor closed against them, as being under an interdict. They met together, on the other hand, at Tarsus, and afterwards at Antioch, condemned the twelve articles of Cyril, confirmed the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, and included under their ban the seven Bishops, their antagonists at Chalcedon. Maximian ventured on the bold step of deposing four Nestorian Bishops. The strife was hardly allayed by the vast mass of letters[y] which distracted and perplexed the world; there was scarcely a distinguished Prelate who did not mingle in the fray. Theodosius himself interfered at length in the office of conciliation. Misdoubting, however, the extent of the Imperial authority, which had so manifestly failed in controlling this contest into peace, he cultivated the more potent intercession of the famous Simeon Stylites: the prayers of the holy "Martyr in the air" might effect that which the Emperor had in vain sought by his despotic edicts. John of Antioch and his party deputed Paul, the aged Bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria, to negotiate a reconciliation. Paul bore with him a formulary agreed upon at Antioch, the subscription to which by Cyril was the indispensable preliminary of peace. On the acceptance of this formulary, and the consent of Cyril to anathematise all who should assert that the Godhead had suffered, or that there was one nature of the Godhead and the Manhood, he and the Orientals would revoke the sentence of excommunication against Cyril.[z]

Synod of Tarsus. A.D. 432.

But Paul of Emesa, amiably eager for peace, and not insensible to the dignity of appearing as arbiter between these two great factions, was no match for the subtlety of Cyril. Cyril was ill at the time of Paul's arrival, and some time elapsed in fruitless negotiation. At length, after an ambiguous assent to the formulary of Antioch by Cyril, a treaty was concluded, in which Paul unquestionably exceeded his powers. But no sooner were

Treaty of peace.

[y] They occupy page after page of the great Collection of the Councils.

[z] Ibas. Epist. ad Maron. in Synodico.

the terms agreed upon than the doors of the Alexandrian churches flew open, and the contending parties vied with each other in flattering homilies.[a] At first the Orientals were startled at what appeared the unwarrantable concessions of Paul: "it was a peace," in the language of one, "which filled us with confusion of face and apprehension of the just judgment of God."[b] The more violent of Cyril's friends were equally displeased with the event. Isidore of Pelusium openly reproached him with his time-serving concessions and with the recantation of his own doctrines.[c]

After some further contest, the peace negotiated in Alexandria was ratified at Antioch. The Orientals yielded their assent to the deposition of Nestorius, the condemnation of his doctrines, and acknowledged the legitimate nomination of his successor Maximianus in the see of Constantinople. On the other hand Cyril, though spared the public disavowal of his own tenets, had purchased, in the opinion of many, his restoration to communion with the Orientals by a dishonourable compromise of his bolder opinions.

Peace hollow and brief.

It was a peace between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, not between the contending factions, which became more and more estranged and separated from each other. But the peace between John and Cyril soon grew into a close alliance, and John began to persecute his old associates. The first victim was Nestorius himself, now sunk to so low a state of insignificance as to expose him to the suspicion and hatred of his enemies, without retaining the attachment of his

[a] See the three homilies of Paul, and one of Cyril.

[b] Epist. Theodoret. Cyren. ad finem.

[c] Isidor. Pelus. Epist. ad Cyrill. Facundus de Trib. Capit. xi. 9. Isidore of Pelusium was no friend of Cyril. From the first he saw through his character. During the Council of Ephesus he solemnly admonished his bishop in terms like these: "Strong favour is not keen-sighted, hate is utterly blind: keep thyself unsullied by both these faults: pass no hasty judgments: try every cause with strict justice. . . . Many of those summoned to Ephesus mock at thee (*σε κωμωδοῦσι*) as one who seeks only to glut his private revenge, and has no real zeal for the orthodoxy which is in Christ Jesus. He, they say, is the sister's son of Theophilus, and follows the example of his uncle. As he manifestly gave free scope to his animosity against the God-inspired and God-beloved Chrysostom, so does this man against Nestorius," &c. &c.—Isid. Pelus. Epist. i. 310. See also the Letters to the Emperor Theodosius, 311, and to Cyril, 323, 324, 370.

former friends. His obscure fate contrasts strongly with the vitality of his doctrines. By an Imperial edict, obtained not improbably by John of Antioch, who was weary of a troublesome neighbour, Nestorius in his old age was exiled to the Egyptian Oasis, as the place most completely cut off from mankind, so that the contagion of his heresy might be confined to the narrowest limits. Even there he did not find repose. The Oasis was overrun by a tribe of barbarous Africans, the Blemmyes. These savages, out of respect or compassion, released their aged captive, who found himself in Panopolis; and, having signified his arrival and his adventures to the Prefect of the city, expressed his hope that the Roman Government would not refuse him that compassion which he had found among the savage heathen. The heretic reckoned too much on human sympathies. He was hastily despatched under a guard of soldiers to Elephantine, the very border of the Roman territory, and recalled as hastily. These journeys wore out his old and infirm body; and, after a vain appeal to the court to be spared a fourth exile, which is mocked by the ecclesiastical historian as a new proof of his obstinacy, he sunk into the grave. But there the charity of the historian Evagrius does not leave him in peace: he relates with undisguised satisfaction a report that his tongue was eaten with worms; and from these temporal pains he passed to the eternal and unmitigable pains of hell.[d]

The three great Sees were now in possession of the anti-Nestorians. Cyril ruled in Alexandria; A.D. 434. Maximian had been succeeded in Constantinople by Proclus, the ancient and inveterate antagonist of Nestorius; and John in Antioch. But, besides the Nestorians, there was a strong anti-Cyrillian party among the Orientals, the former allies of John of Antioch, who protested against the terms of the peace. They maintained the uncanonical deposition of Nestorius, though they disclaimed his theology; they asserted the unrepealed excommunication of Cyril. Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, declared that he would suffer death or exile rather

[d] Evagrius, H. E. i. 6.

than submit to Church communion with the Egyptians on such terms; and declared that John must be lost to all sense of shame. On this principle the leading Bishops of nine provinces revolted against their Patriarchs,—the two Syrias, the two Cilicias, Bithynia, Mœsia, Thessalia, Isauria, the second Cappadocia. They even ventured to send a protest to Sixtus, who had now succeeded Celestine in the See of Rome, in which they inveighed against the versatility and perfidy of John of Antioch. But an edict, obtained by the two dominant influences in the Byzantine court, that of gold[e] and of the Princess Pulcheria, armed John with powers to expel the refractory Prelates from their sees; and John had no scruples in punishing that mutinous spirit which he had encouraged so long. Nor were these Bishops prepared to suffer the martyrdom of degradation. Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret of Cyrus, Helladius of Tarsus, the leaders of that party, submitted to the hard necessity. It is probable, however, that the milder terms enforced upon them only required communion with John; they were not compelled to give their formal assent to the deposition of Nestorius, or to withdraw their protest against the twelve articles of Cyril, or to repeal the anathema against him. Some, however, were more firm; Meletius of Mopsuestia was forcibly expelled from his city by a rude soldiery, and fourteen other Bishops bore degradation rather than submit to these galling concessions.

Nestorianism proscribed.

At the same time that Nestorius was banished from Antioch, an Imperial edict proscribed Nestorianism.[f] The followers of Nestorius were to be branded by the odious name of Simonians, as apostates from God; his books were prohibited, and, when found, were to be publicly burned; whoever held a conventicle of the sect was condemned to confiscation of goods. But however oppressed in the Roman Empire, Nestorianism was too deeply rooted in the Syrian mind to be extin-

[e] "Audivimus olim quod multum sategerit Verius, qui pro Joanne Constantinopoli latitat, et *aurum multum* distribuerit aliquibus ut posset obtinere sacram, quæ nos cogeret aut communicare Joanni, aut exire ab ecclesiis: quod etiam veraciter contigit."—Meletii Epist. ad Maximin. Anagarb.

[f] Codex Theodos. de Hæret. xvi. v. 66.

guished either by Imperial or by ecclesiastical persecution. It took refuge beyond the frontiers, among the Christians of Persia. It even overleaped the stern boundary of Magianism, and carried the Gospel into parts of the East as yet unpenetrated by Christian missions. The farther it travelled eastwards the more intelligible and more congenial to the general sentiment became its Eastern element, the absolute impassibility of the Godhead. Even in the Roman East it maintained, in many places a secret, in some an open resistance to authority.[g] The great Syrian School, that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus, the most popular of the Syrian theologians, were found to have held opinions nearly the same with those of Nestorius. Cyril and Proclus demanded the proscription of these dangerous writers; but the Eastern Prelates, those of Edessa, and the successors of Theodore, indignantly refused submission. A new controversy arose, which was not laid to rest, but was rather kept alive by the new heresy which, during the next twenty years, confused the Eastern Churches and demanded a fourth General Council—Eutychianism.

Sixtus, the successor of Celestine, had ruled in Rome during these later transactions in the East; A.D. 432-440. July 31; Aug. 18. he was to be succeeded by one of greater name.

[g] Gibbon, at the close of his 47th chapter, has drawn one of his full, rapid, and brilliant descriptions of the Oriental conquests of the Nestorians, from Assemanni, Renaudot, La Croze, and all other authorities extant in his day. Nestorianism and its kindred or rival sects retired far beyond the sphere of Latin Christianity; it was not till the Portuguese conquests in the East that they came into contact and collision. The very recent works of Layard and the Rev. Mr. Badger reveal to us the present state of the settlements of the Nestorians—the latter, their creed and discipline—in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates.

CHAPTER IV.

LEO THE GREAT.

The Pontificate of Leo the Great is one of the epochs in the history of Latin, or rather of universal Christianity. Christendom, wherever mindful of its divine origin, and of its proper humanising and hallowing influence, might turn away in shame from these melancholy and disgraceful contests in the East. On the throne of Rome alone, of all the greater sees, did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity, its piety; and, if it demanded undue deference, the world would not be inclined rigidly to question pretensions supported as well by such conscious power as by such singular and unimpeachable virtue; and by such inestimable benefits conferred on Rome, on the Empire, on civilisation. Once Leo was supposed to have saved Rome from the most terrible of barbarian conquerors; a second time he mitigated the horrors of her fall, before the King of the Vandals. During his pontificate, Leo is the only great name in the Empire; it might almost seem in the Christian world. The Imperial Sovereignty might be said to have expired with Theodosius the Great. Women ruled in Ravenna and in Constantinople, and their more masculine abilities, even their virtues, reflected a deeper shame on the names of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., the boy Sovereigns of the East and West. Even after the death of Theodosius, Marcian reigned in the East, as the husband of Pulcheria. In the West the suspected fidelity impaired the power, as it lowered the character, of Aëtius; his inhuman murder deprived the Empire of its last support; and the Count Boniface, the friend of Augustine, in his fatal revenge, opened Africa to the desolating Vandal. Leo stood equally alone and superior in the Christian world. Two years before the accession

Leo the Great. A.D. 440. Aug.

A.D. 430. Nov. 28.

of Leo, Augustine had died. He had not lived to witness the capture and ruin of Hippo, his episcopal city. The fifth year after the accession of Leo, died Cyril A.D. 445. of Alexandria; Nestorius survived, but in exile, his relentless rival. He was succeeded by Dioscorus, who seemed to have inherited all which was odious in Cyril, with far inferior polemic ability; afterwards an Eutychian heretic, and hardly to be acquitted of the murder of his rival, Flavianus. This future victim of the enmity of Dioscorus filled the see of Constantinople. Domnus, a name of no great distinction, was Patriarch of Antioch. In the West there are few, either ecclesiastics or others, who even aspire to a doubtful fame, such as Prosper, the poet of the Pelagian controversy, and Cassianus, the legislator of the Western monasteries.

Leo, like most of his great predecessors and successors, was a Roman. He was early devoted to the service of the Church; and so high was the opinion of his abilities, that even as an acolyte he was sent to Africa with letters condemnatory of Pelagianism. By the great African Prelates Aurelius and St. Augustine he was confirmed in his strong aversion to those doctrines, which might seem irreconcilable with his ardent piety. He urged upon Pope Sixtus the persecution of the unfortunate Julianus.[a] When Leo was yet only a Deacon, Cassianus dedicated to him his work on the Incarnation. At the decease of Pope Sixtus, Leo was absent on a civil mission, the importance of which shows the lofty estimate of his powers. It was no less than an attempt to reconcile the two rival generals, Aëtius and Albinus, whose fatal quarrel hazarded the dominion of Rome in Gaul. There was no delay; all Rome, clergy, senate, people, by acclamation, raised the absent Leo to the vacant see. Leo disdained the customary hypocrisy of compelling the electors to force the dignity upon him.[b] With the self-confidence of a commanding mind he assumed the office, in the pious assur-

Election of Leo.

[a] "His insidiis Sixtus Papa, diaconi Leonis hortatu, vigilanter occurrens, nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit, et . . . omnes catholicos de rejectione fallacis bestiæ gaudere fecit."—Prosper. in Chronic.

[b] "Etsi necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est gaudere de dono . . . ne sub magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem, qui contulit dignitatem."—Sermo 11.

ance that God would give him strength to fulfil the arduous duties so imposed. Leo was a Roman in sentiment as in birth. All that survived of Rome, of her unbounded ambition, her inflexible perseverance, her dignity in defeat, her haughtiness of language, her belief in her own eternity, and in her indefeasible title to universal dominion, her respect for traditionary and written law, and of unchangeable custom, might seem concentered in him alone.[c] The union of the Churchman and the Roman is singularly displayed in his sermon on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul; their conjoint authority was that double title to obedience on which he built his claim to power, but chiefly as successor of St. Peter, for whom and for his ecclesiastical heirs he asserted a proto-Apostolic dignity. From Peter and through Peter all the other Apostles derived their power. No less did he assert the predestined perpetuity of Rome, who had only obtained her temporal autocracy to prepare the way, and as a guarantee, for her greater spiritual supremacy. St. Peter and St. Paul were the Romulus and Remus of Christian Rome. Pagan Rome had been the head of the heathen world; the empire of her divine religion was to transcend that of her worldly dominion. Her victories had subdued the earth and the sea, but she was to rule still more widely than she had by her wars, through the peaceful triumphs of her faith.[d] It was because Rome was the capital of the world that the chief of the Apostles was chosen to be her teacher, in order that from the head of the world the light of truth might be revealed over all the earth.

The haughtiness of the Roman might seem to predominate over the meekness of the Christian. Leo is in-

[c] Nothing can be stronger than the Popes' declarations that even they are strictly subordinate to the *law* of the church. "Contra statuta patrum concedere aliquid vel mutare nec hujus quidem sedis potest auctoritas." Zos. Epist. sub ann. 417. "Sumus subjecti canonibus, qui canonum præcepta servamus."—Cœlest. ad Episc. Illyr. "Privilegia sanctorum patrum canonibus instituta et Niceæ synodi fixa decretis nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate violari."—S. Leo. Epist. 78: compare Epist. 80. "Quoniam contra statuta paternorum canonum nihil cuiquam audire conceditur, ita si quis diversum aliquid decernere velit, se potius minuet, quam illa corrumpat; quæ si (ut oportet) a sanctis Pontificibus observantur per universas ecclesias, tranquilla erit pax et firma concordia."—Epist. 79.

[d] "Per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divinâ quam dominatione terrenâ."—Serm. lxxxiii.

dignant that slaves were promoted to the dignity of the sacerdotal office; not merely did he require the consent of the master, lest the Church should become a refuge for contumacious slaves, and the established rights of property be invaded, but the baseness of the slave brought discredit on the majesty of the priestly office.[e]

Though Leo's magnificent vision of the universal dominion of Rome and of Christianity blended the indomitable ambition of the ancient Roman with the faith of the Christian, the world might seem rather darkening towards the ruin of both. Leo may be imagined as taking a calm and comprehensive survey of the arduous work in which he was engaged, the state of the various provinces over which he actually exercised, or aspired to, supremacy. In Rome heathenism appears, as a religion, extinct; but heretics, especially the most odious of all, the Manicheans, were in great numbers. In Rome, Leo ruled not merely with Apostolic authority, but took upon himself the whole Apostolic function. He was the first of the Roman Pontiffs whose popular sermons have come down to posterity. The Bishops of Constantinople seem to have been the great preachers of their city. Pulpit oratory was their recommendation to the see, and the great instrument of their power.[f] Chrysostom was not the first, though the greatest, who had been summoned to that high dignity, for the fame of his eloquence. From the pulpit Nestorius had waged war against his adversaries. Leo, no doubt, felt his strength; he could cope with the minds of the people, and make the pulpit what the rostrum had

[e] "Tanquam servilis vilitas hunc honorem capiat. . . . Duplex itaque in hac parte reatus est, quod et *sacrum ministerium talis consortii vilitate polluitur*, et dominorum . . . jura solvuntur."—Epist. iv.

[f] Sozomen asserts that it was a peculiar usage of the Church of Rome that neither the bishop nor any one else preached in the church: οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. H. E. vii. 19. This statement, defended by Valesius, is vehemently impugned by many Roman Catholic writers. Quesnel confines it to sermons on particular occasions. But the assertion of Sozomen is clearly general, and contrasted with the usage of Alexandria, where the bishop was the only preacher. If this be true, the usage must have been subsequent to the beginning of Arianism, perhaps grew out of it. The presumption of ignorance or error in Sozomen arises out of the generality of his statement, that there was in fact no preaching in Rome. The style of Leo's sermons, brief, simple, expository, is almost conclusive against any long cultivation of pulpit oratory. They are evidently the first efforts of Christian rhetoric—the earliest, if vigorous, sketches of a young art. Compare page 21.

been of old. His sermons singularly contrast with the florid, desultory, and often imaginative and impassioned style of the Greek preachers. They are brief, simple, severe; without fancy, without metaphysic subtlety, without passion: it is the Roman Censor animadverting with nervous majesty on the vices of the people; the Roman Prætor dictating the law, and delivering with authority the doctrine of the faith. They are singularly Christian—Christian as dwelling almost exclusively on Christ, his birth, his passion, his resurrection; only polemic so far as called upon by the prevailing controversies to assert with especial emphasis the perfect deity and the perfect manhood of Christ.[g] Either the practical mind of Leo disdained, or in Rome the age had not yet fully expanded the legendary and poetic religion, the worship of the Virgin and the Saints. St. Peter is not so much a sacred object of worship as the great ancestor from whom the Roman Pontiff has inherited supreme power. One martyr alone is commemorated, and that with nothing mythic or miraculous in the narrative—the Roman Laurentius, by whose death Rome is glorified, as Jerusalem by that of Stephen.[h]

Leo condemns the whole race of heretics, from Arius down to Eutyches; but the more immediate, more dangerous, more hateful adversaries of the Roman faith were the Manicheans. That sect, in vain proscribed, persecuted, deprived of the privilege of citizens, placed out of the pale of the law by successive Imperial edicts; under the abhorrence not merely of the orthodox, but of almost all other Christians, were constantly springing up in all quarters of Christendom with a singularly obstinate vi-

The Manichees.

[g] One class were what may be described as charity sermons. At a certain period of the year collections were made for the poor throughout all the regions of Rome. This usage had been appointed to supersede some ancient superstition, it is supposed the Ludi Apollinares, held on the 6th of July. The alms of the devout were to surpass in munificence the offerings of the heathen. These collections seem to have replaced in some degree the sportula of the wealthy, and the ostentatious largesses of the Emperors. On almsgiving Leo insists with great energy. It is an atonement for sin.—Serm. vii. In another place "eleemosynæ peccata delent." Fasting, without alms, is an affliction of the flesh, no sanctification of the soul. There is a beautiful precept urging the people to seek out the more modest of the indigent, who would not beg: "Sunt enim qui palam poscere ea, quibus indigent, erubescunt; et malunt miseriâ tacitæ egestatis affligi, quam publicâ petitione confundi . . . paupertati eorum consultum fuerit et pudori."—Serm. ix. p. 32-3. Leo denounces usury—"fœnus pecuniæ, funus animæ."—Serm. xvii.

[h] Serm. lxxxv.

tality. At this time they unquestionably formed a considerable sect in Rome and in other cities of Italy. Manicheism, according to Leo, summed up in itself all which was profane in Paganism, blind in carnal Judaism, unlawful in magic, sacrilegious and blasphemous in all other heresies.[k] It does not appear how far the Manicheism of the West had retained the wilder and more creative system of its Oriental founder; or, subdued to the more practical spirit of the West, adhered only to the broader anti-Materialistic and Dualistic tenets. But these more general principles were obnoxious in the highest degree to the whole Christianity of the age. Where the great rivalship of the contending parties in Christendom was to assert most peremptorily, and to define most distinctly, the Godhead and the humanity of the Redeemer, nothing could be more universally abhorrent than a creed which made the human person of the Redeemer altogether unreal, and was at least vague and obscure as to his divinity: which in that Redeemer was clearly extraneous and subordinate to the great Primal Immaterial Unity. All parties would unite in rejecting these total aliens from the Christian faith.[m] But Leo had stronger reasons for his indignation against the Roman Manicheans. Whether the asceticism of the sect in general had recoiled into a kind of orgiastic libertinism, or whether the polluting atmosphere of Rome, in which no doubt much of pagan licentiousness must have remained, and which would shroud itself in Christian, as of old in pagan mysteries, the evidence of revolting immoralities is more strong and conclusive against these Roman Manicheans than against any other branch of this condemned race at other times. The public, it might seem the ceremonial violation of a maiden of tender years, in one of their religious meetings, was witnessed, it was said, by the confession of the perpetrator of the crime; by that of the elect who were present; by the Bishop, who sanctioned the abominable wickedness.[n] The investigation took place

[k] Serm. xvi.
[m] S. Leo, Serm. xvi. and xlii.
[n] Epist. ad Turib. xiv. Epist. viii. Rescript. Valentin. "Coram Senatu amplissimo manifestâ ipsorum confessione patefacta sunt."

before a great assembly of the principal of the Roman
Oct. 10, 443. priesthood, of the great civil officers, of the Senate, and of the people. We cannot wonder that the penalties fell indiscriminately upon the whole sect. Some, indeed, were admitted to penance on their forswearing Manes and all his impious doctrines, by the lenity of Leo; others were driven into exile; still, however, no capital punishment was inflicted. Leo wrote to the Bishops of
Jan. 444. Italy, exhorting them to search out these pestilent enemies of Christian faith and virtue, and to secure their own flocks from the secret contamination. The Emperor Valentinian III., no doubt by the advice of Leo, issued an edict confirmatory of those laws of his predecessors by which the Manicheans were to be banished from the whole world. They were to be liable to all the penalties of sacrilege. It was a public offence. The accusers were not to be liable to the charge of delation. It was a crime to conceal or harbour them. All Manicheans were to be expelled from the army, and not permitted to inhabit cities; they could neither make testaments nor receive bequests. The cause of the severity of the law was their flagrant and disgraceful immorality.

If Italy did not fully acknowledge, it did not contest the assumed supremacy of the Roman See. Leo writes not only to the Bishops of Tuscany and Campania, but to those of Aquileia and of Sicily, as under his immediate jurisdiction.

Africa was among the provinces of the Western
Africa. Empire. It was a part of the Latin world—an indispensable part—as being now, since the Egyptian supplies were alienated to the East, with Sicily, the sole granary of Rome and of Italy. If the patriarchate of Rome was co-extensive with the Western Empire, Africa belonged to her jurisdiction, and the closest connexion still subsisted between these parts of Latin Christendom. Latin had from the first been the language of African theology; and of the five or six greatest names among the earlier Western fathers, three, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were of those provinces. In every struggle and in every controversy Africa had taken

a leading part. She had furnished her martyrs in the days of persecution; she had contended against all the heresies of the East, and repudiated the subtle metaphysics of Greek Christendom; orthodoxy had in general triumphed in her deliberations. By the voice of St. Augustine she had discomfited Manicheism; and it was her burning temperament which, in the same great writer, had repelled the colder and more analytic Pelagianism, and made the direct, immediate, irresistible action of divine grace upon the soul an established article of the Western creed. Her councils had been frequent, and commanded general respect; her bishops were incredibly numerous in the inland districts; and, on the whole, Christianity might seem more completely the religion of the people than in any other part of the empire.

But the fatal schism of the Donatists had, for more than a century, been constantly preying upon her strength, and induced her to look for foreign interference. The orthodox church had, in her distress, constantly invoked the civil power. The Emperor naturally looked for advice to the bishops around him, especially the Bishop of Rome; and from the earliest period, when Constantine had referred this controversy to a council of Italian prelates, they had been thus indirectly the arbiters in the irreconcilable contest. For even down to the days of St. Augustine, and beyond the Vandal conquest of Africa, the Donatists maintained the strife, raised altar against altar, compared the number of their bishops with advantage to those of their adversaries, resisted alike the reasonings of the orthodox, and the more cogent arguments of the imperial soldiery. The more desperate, the more fierce and obstinate the fanaticism. The ravages of the Circumcellions were perpetually breaking out in some new quarter; the civilisation which had covered the land, up to the borders of the desert, with peaceful towns and villages, so much promoted by the increased cultivation of corn, and which at once contributed to extend Christianity and was itself advanced by Christianity, began to suffer that sad reverse which was almost consummated by the Vandal invasion. The wild Moorish tribes seemed

training again towards their old unsubdued ferocity, and preparing, as it were, to sink back, after two or three more centuries, into the more congenial state of marauding Mahometan savages.

But Africa, notwithstanding the difficulties which arose out of these sanguinary contentions, and the constant demands of assistance from the civil power in Italy, conscious of her own intellectual strength, and proud of the unimpeached orthodoxy of her ruling churches, by no means surrendered her independence. If Rome at times was courted with promising submissiveness, at others it was opposed with inflexible obduracy. Though Cyprian, by assigning a kind of primacy to St. Peter, and acknowledging the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the great apostle, had tended to elevate the power of the Pontiff, yet his great name sanctioned likewise almost a contemptuous resistance to the Roman ecclesiastical authority. The African Councils had usually communicated their decrees, as of full and unquestioned authority, not submitted them for a higher sanction. The inflexibility of the African bishops had but recently awed the Pelagianising Zosimus back into orthodoxy. Some events, which had brought the African churches into direct collision with the Roman Pontiff, betrayed in one case an admission of his power, on the other a stedfast determination of resistance, which would disdain to submit to foreign jurisdiction. In the first, Augustine himself might seem to set the example of homage—opposing only earnest and deprecatory arguments to the authority of the Roman Pontiff.[m] It was the African usage to erect small towns, even villages, into separate sees. St. Augustine created a bishopric in the insignificant neighbouring town of Fussola.

Antonius Bishop of Fussola.

He appointed a promising disciple, named Antonius, to the office. But, removed from the grave control of Augustine, the young bishop abandoned himself to youthful indulgences, and even to violence, rapine, and extortion. He was condemned by a local council; but, some of the worst charges being insufficiently proved, he was only sentenced to make restitution,

[m] Augustin. Epist. 261.

deprived of his episcopal power, but not degraded from the dignity of a bishop. Antonius appealed to Rome; he obtained the support of the aged Primate of Numidia, by the plausible argument that, if he had been guilty of the alleged enormities, he was unworthy of, and ought to have been degraded from, the episcopal rank. Boniface, who was then Pope, commanded the Numidian bishops to restore Antonius to his see, provided the facts, as he stated them, were true. Antonius, as though armed with an absolute decree, demanded instant obedience from the people of Fussola: he threatened them with the Imperial troops, whom, it would seem, he might summon to compel the execution of the Papal decree. The people of Fussola wrote in the most humble language to the new Pope, Celestine, entreating to be relieved from an oppression, as they significantly hinted, more grievous than they had suffered under the Donatist rule, from which they had but recently passed over into the Catholic Church. They threw the blame on Augustine himself, who had placed over them so unworthy a bishop. Augustine confessed his error, and urged the claims of the people of Fussola for redress in the most earnest terms. He threatened to resign his own see. The dispute ended in the suppression of the see of Fussola, by the decree of a Council of Numidia, and the assent of Celestine. It was reunited to that of Hippo.

But the second dispute was not conducted with the same temper—it terminated in more important consequences. Apiarius, a presbyter of Sicca, was degraded for many heinous offences by his own bishop. On his appeal, he was taken under the protection of Rome without due caution or inquiry by the hasty Zosimus. Zosimus commanded his restoration to his rank, as well as to the communion of the Church. The African bishops protested against this interference with their episcopal rights. In an assembly of 217 bishops at Carthage, appeared Faustinus, Bishop of Picenum, and two Roman presbyters. They boldly produced two canons of the Council of Nicea, that first and most sacred legislative assembly, to which Christendom owed the

Apiarius. A.D. 419.

establishment of the sound Trinitarian doctrine, and which was received by all the orthodox world with unbounded reverence. These canons established a general right of appeal from all parts of Christendom to Rome. The Bishop of Rome might not only receive the appeal, but might delegate the judgment on appeal to the neighbouring bishops, or commission one of his own presbyters to demand a second hearing of the cause, or send judges, according to his own discretion, to sit as assessors, representing the Papal authority, with the bishops of the neighbourhood.[n] The African bishops protested, with exemplary gravity, their respect for all the decrees of the Nicene Council; but they were perplexed, they said, by one circumstance—that in no copy of those decrees, which they had ever seen, did such Canons appear. They requested that the authentic copies, supposed to be preserved at Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, might be inspected.[o] It turned out, that either from ignorance in himself, almost incredible, or from a bold presumption of ignorance in others, not less inconceivable, the Bishop of Rome had adduced Canons of the Synod of Sardica, a council of which the authority was in many respects highly questionable, and which did not aspire to the dignity of a General Council, for the solemn decrees of the great Œcumenic Senate. The close of this affair was as unfavourable as its conduct to the lofty pretensions of the Roman Bishop. While the Africans calmly persisted in asserting the guilt of Apiarius, the Bishop of Rome, through his legate, obstinately pronounced him to be the victim of injustice. Apiarius himself, seized by a paroxysm of remorse, suddenly and publicly made confession of all the crimes imputed to him—crimes so heinous and offensive, that groans of horror broke forth from the shuddering judges. The Bishop of Rome was left in the humiliating position of having rashly embarked in an iniquitous cause, and set up as the judge of the African bishops on partial, unsatisfactory, and, as it ap-

[n] "E latere suo Presbyterum" is the expression—probably heard for the first time in these canons.

[o] "Habentes auctoritatem ejus a quo destinati sunt."—Labbe, Conc. ii. p. 1590.

peared, utterly worthless evidence. The African bishops pursued their advantage, adduced the genuine Canons of Nicea, which gave each Provincial Council full authority over its own affairs, and quietly rebuked the Roman prelate for his eagerness in receiving all outcasts from the Churches of Africa, and interfering in their behalf concerning matters of which he must be ignorant. They asserted that God would hardly grant to one that clear and searching judgment which he denied to many.[p] Thus, in fact, they proclaimed the entire independence of the African Churches on any foreign dominion: they forbade all appeals to transmarine judgments.[q]

But Africa had not to contest that independence with the ambition and ability of Leo. The long age of peace, wealth, fertility, and comparative happiness which had almost secluded Africa, since the battle of Thapsus, from the wars and civil contentions of the Empire, and had permitted Christianity to spread its beneficent influence over the whole province, was drawing to a close. The Vandal conquest began that long succession of calamities—the Arian persecutions under Hunneric and Thrasimund, the successors of Genseric—the re-conquest by the Eastern Empire, and the internal wars, with their train of miseries, famine, pestilence, devastation, which blasted the rich land into a desert; silenced altogether the clamours of Christian strife, still maintained by the irreclaimable Donatists, and quenched all the lights of Christian learning and piety; until, at length, the whole realm was wrested by the strong arm of Mahomedanism from its connexion with Christendom and the civilisation of Europe.

The Vandal conquest under Genseric alone belongs to this period. The Vandals, until the invasion of the Huns, had been dreaded as the most ferocious of the Northern or Eastern tribes. Their savage love of war had hardly been mitigated by their submission

Vandal conquest of Africa.

[p] "Nisi forte quispiam est qui credat, unicuilibet posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in unum concilium denegare."—Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 1675.

[q] "Quod si ab eis provocandum putaverunt, non provocent ad transmarina judicia, sed ad Primates suarum Provinciarum (aut ad Universale Concilium) sicut et de Episcopis sæpe constitutum est."—Ibid.

to Arian Christianity. Yet the invasion of Genseric was at first a conquest rather than a persecution. The churches were not sacred against the general pillage, but it was their wealth which inflamed the cupidity, rather than the oppugnancy of the doctrine within their walls which provoked the insults of the invaders. The clergy did not escape the general massacre: many of them suffered cruel tortures, but they fell in the promiscuous ruin: they were racked, or exposed to other excruciating torments to compel the surrender of their treasures, which they had concealed, or were supposed to have concealed. After the capture of Carthage, bishops and ecclesiastics of rank, as well as nobles, were reduced to servitude. The successor of Cyprian, "Quod vult Deus," ("What God wills,"—the African prelates had anticipated our Puritans in their Scriptural names,) and many of his clergy were embarked in crazy vessels, and cast on shore on the coast of Naples. Yet Genseric permitted the elevation of another orthodox bishop, Deo Gratias, at the prayer of Valentinian, to the see of Carthage. Valentinian might seem prophetically to prepare succour and comfort for the Romans who should hereafter be carried captives to Carthage.

During the later years of his reign Genseric became a more cruel persecutor. He would admit only Arian counsellors about his court. The honours of martyrdom are claimed for many victims, perhaps rather of his jealousy than of his intolerance; for the Vandal dominion was that of an armed aristocracy, few in numbers when compared with the vast population of Roman Africa. He closed the churches of the orthodox in Carthage after the death of Deo Gratias; they were not opened for some time, but at length, at the intervention of the Emperor of the East, they were permitted a short period of peace, until the reign of Genseric's more fiercely intolerant successors, Hunneric and Thrasimund.[r]

Gaul. Gaul was the province of the Western empire, beyond the limits of Italy (perhaps excepting Africa),

[r] Victor Vitensis, lib. i., with the notes of Ruinart, Hist. Persecutionis Vandalicæ.

which was most closely connected by civil and ecclesiastical relations with the centre of government. But Northern and Western Gaul, as well as the two Germanies, were already occupied by Teutonic conquerors, Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, and were either independent, or rendered but nominal allegiance to the descendants of Theodosius. Britain appeared entirely lost to the Roman empire and to Christianity. Her Christianity had retired to her remote mountain fastnesses in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and to the more distant islands; it was cut off altogether from the Roman world. But in Gaul the clergy, at least the orthodox clergy, were as yet everywhere of pure Roman, or Gallo-Roman race; the Teutonic conquerors, who were Christians, Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, had not shaken off the Arianism into which they had been converted; and the Franks were still fierce and obstinate pagans. The Southern Province alone retained its full subordination to the Court of Ravenna; and the jealousies and contests among the Bishops of Gaul had already driven them to Rome, the aggrieved for redress against the oppression, the turbulent for protection against the legitimate authority of their Bishops or Metropolitans, the Prelates whose power was contested, for confirmation of their authority. The acknowledged want of such a superior jurisdiction would thus have created, even if there had been no pretensions grounded on the succession to St. Peter, a jurisdiction of appeal. Nowhere indeed can the origin of appeals be traced more clearly, as arising out of the state of the Church. The Metropolitan power over Narbonnese Gaul was contested by the Churches of Arles and Vienne. The circumstances of the times, the retirement of the Prefect of Gaul from Treves to Arles, the dignity which that city had assumed as the seat, however, of an usurped empire, had given a supremacy to Arles. But neither would the metropolitan nor the episcopal dignity be administered with such calm justice as to command universal obedience. Severe discipline and strict adherence to the canons by the austere would excite rebellion, laxity and weakness encourage licence. A remote tribunal would

be sought by all, by some out of despair of finding justice nearer home, by some in the hope that a bad cause might find favourable hearing where the judges must be comparatively ignorant, and propitiated by that welcome deference which submitted to their authority. Yet, though there are several instances of Bishops deposed, not seldom unjustly, by synods of Gallic Bishops, none had carried his complaint before the Bishop of Rome until towards the end of the fourth century.[s] Priscillian appealed from the Council of Bourdeaux, not to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Emperor. During the Pontificate of Zosimus, Patroclus, Archbishop of Arles, was involved in an implacable feud with Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles.[t] That A.D. 385. degradation of Proculus which he could not inflict by his own power, the Metropolitan of Arles endeavoured to obtain by that of Zosimus.[u] Zosimus, it appears to be admitted, was deceived by the misrepresentations of Patroclus, and scrupled not to issue the sentence of degra- Feb. 9, 422. dation against the Bishop of Marseilles.[v] Proculus defied the sentence, and continued to exercise his episcopal powers. The more prudent Pope, Boniface, in a case of appeal from the clergy of Valence against their Bishop, referred the affair back to the Bishops of the province.[x]

Under Leo, the supremacy of the Roman See over Gaul was brought to the issue of direct assertion on his part, of inflexible resistance on that of his opponent. Hilarius, a devout and austere prelate, invested by his admiring biographer in every virtue, in the holiness and charity of a saint, a perfect monk and a consummate prelate—(as a preacher, it was said that Augustine, if he had lived after Hilarius, would have been esteemed his inferior)—was Archbishop of Arles.[y] His zeal or his ambition aspired to

[s] Quesnel, Dissertat. v. p. 384.

[t] Every point in this controversy has been discussed with the most unwearied pertinacity by the advocates,—on one side of the high Papal supremacy; on the other, by the defenders of the Gallican liberties. I have endeavoured to hold an equal hand, and to dwell only on the facts which rest on evidence. There is an implacable war between the successive editors of the works of Leo the Great,—the Frenchman Quesnel, and the Italians, the Ballerinis.

[u] Sulpic. Sever. 11.

[v] Zosim. Epist. 12 ad Patrocl.

[x] Bonifac. Epist. ad Episcop. Galliæ.

[y] The account of his election, by his biographer, is curious. He was designated as bishop by his predecessor Honoratus. He was then a monk of Lerins.

raise that metropolitan seat into a kind of Pontificate of Gaul. He was accustomed to make visitations, accompanied by the holy Germanus of Auxerre, not improbably beyond the doubtful or undefined limits of his metropolitan power.[z] During one of these visitations, charges of disqualification for the episcopal office were exhibited against Celidonius, Bishop, according to some accounts, of Besançon. He was accused of having been the husband of a widow, and in his civil state of having pronounced as magistrate sentences of capital punishment. Hilarius hastily summoned a council of Bishops, and pronounced sentence of deposition against Celidonius. On the intelligence that Celidonius had gone to Rome to appeal against this decree, Hilarius set forth, it is said, on foot, crossed the Alps, and travelled without horse or sumpter mule to the Great City. He presented himself before Leo, and with respectful A.D. 445. earnestness entreated him not to infringe the ancient usages of the Gallic Churches, significantly declaring that he came not to plead before Leo, or as an accuser in a case of appeal, but to protest against the usurpation of his rights.[a] Leo proceeded to annul the sentence of Hilarius and to restore Celidonius to his bishopric. He summoned Hilarius to rebut the evidence, adduced by Celidonius, to disprove the justice of his condemnation. So haughty was the language of Hilarius, that no layman would dare to utter, no ecclesiastic would endure to hear such words.[b] He inflexibly resisted all the authority of the Pope and of St. Peter; and confronted the Pope with the bold assertion of his own unbounded metropolitan power. Hilarius thought

A large band of the citizens of Arles, with a troop of soldiers, set out to take him by force. They did not know him: "spiritalis præda adstat ante oculos inquirentium, et nihilominus ignoratur." He is discovered, but requires a sign from heaven. A dove settles on his head.—S. Hilar. Vit. apud Leon. Oper. p. 323.

[z] "Ordinationis sibi omnium per Gallias ecclesiarum vindicans, et debitam metropolitanis sacerdotibus in suam transferens dignitatem; ipsius quoque beatissimi Petri reverentiam verbis arrogantibus minuendo. . . . ita suæ vos cupiens subdere potestati, ut se Beato apostolo Petro non patiatur esse subjectum."—Leo. Epist. This may have been stated by Leo under indignation at the resistance of Hilarius to his authority, and on the testimony of the enemies of Hilarius; but his biographer admits that the very humility of Hilarius had generated a kind of supercilious haughtiness; he was rigid but to the proud, terrible but to the worldly.—p. 326.

[a] "Se ad officia non ad causam venisse; protestandi ordine non accusandi quæ sunt acta suggerere."—Vit. Hil.

[b] "Quæ nullus laicorum dicere, nullus sacerdotum posset audire."

his life in danger; or he feared lest he should be seized and compelled to communicate with the deposed Celidonius. He stole out of Rome, and though it was the depth of winter, found his way back to Arles.[c] The accounts of St. Hilarius, hitherto reconcilable, now diverge into strange contradiction. The author of his Life represents him as having made some meek overtures of reconciliation to Leo, as wasting himself out with toils, austerities, and devotions, and dying before he had completed his forty-first year. He died, visited by visions of glory, in ecstatic peace; his splendid funeral was honoured by the tears of the whole city; the very Jews were clamorous in their sorrow for the beneficent Prelate. The people were hardly prevented from tearing his body to pieces, in order to possess such inestimable reliques.[d]

Hilarius died, A.D. 449.

The counter-statement fills up the interval before the death of Hilarius with other important events. Leo addresses a letter to the Bishops of the province of Vienne, denouncing the impious resistance of Hilarius to the authority of St. Peter, and releasing them from all allegiance to the See of Arles. For hardly had the affair of Celidonius been decided by the See of Rome than a new charge of ecclesiastical tyranny had been alleged against Hilarius. The Bishop Projectus complained, that while he was afflicted with illness, Hilarius, to whose province he did not belong, had consecrated another Bishop in his place, and this in such haste, that he had respected none of the canonical forms of election; he had awaited neither the suffrage of the citizens, the testimonials of the more distinguished, nor the election of the Clergy. In this, and in other instances of irregular ordinations, Hilarius had called in the military power, and tumultuously interfered in the affairs of many churches. It is significantly suggested, that on every occasion Hilarius had been prodigal of the last and most awful power possessed by the Church,

[c] The accounts of this transaction in the Life and in the Letters of Pope Leo appear to me, considered from the point of view of each writer, strictly coincident, instead of obstinately irreconcilable.

[d] The writer describes himself as a witness of this remarkable fact: "Etiam Judæorum concurrunt agmina copiosa. . . . Hebræam concinentium linguam in exequiis honorandis audisse me recolo. Nam nostros ita mœror obsederat, ut ab officio solito impatiens doloris inhibuerit magnitudo."—p. 339.

that of excommunication.[e] Hilarius was commanded to confine himself to his own diocese, deprived of the authority which he had usurped over the province of Vienne, and forbidden to be present at any future ordinations. But a sentence, in those days more awful than that of the Bishop of Rome, was pronounced against Hilarius. At the avowed instance of Leo, Valentinian promulgated an Imperial Edict, denounced the contumacy of Hilarius against the primacy of the Apostolic throne, confirmed alike by the merits of St. Peter, the chief of the episcopal order, by the majesty of the Roman city, and by the decree of a holy Council. Peace can alone rule in the Church, if the universal Church acknowledge its Lord. Hilarius is accused of various acts of ecclesiastical tyranny and violence, irregular ordinations, deposals of Bishops without authority: of entering cities at the head of an armed force, of waging war instead of establishing peace. The sentence of so great a Pontiff as the Bishop of Rome did not need Imperial confirmation; but as Hilarius had offended against the Majesty of the Empire, as well as against the Apostolic See, he was reminded that it was only through the mildness of Leo that he retained his see. He and all the Bishops were warned to observe this perpetual Edict, which solemnly enacted that nothing should be done in Gaul, contrary to ancient usage, without the authority of the Bishop of the Eternal City; that the decree of the Apostolic See should henceforth be law; and whoever refused to obey the citation of the Roman Pontiff should be compelled to do so by the Moderator of the Province.[f]

Spain was already nearly dissevered from the empire of Rome. It had been overrun, it was in great part occupied, by Teutonic conquerors, Suevians, Goths, and Vandals, all of whom, as far as they were Christians, adhered to the Arianism to which they had been converted by their first Apostles. The land groaned under the oppression of foreign rulers, the orthodox Church Spain.

[e] "Sed quod mirum eum in laicos talem existere, qui soleat in sacerdotum damnatione gaudere."—S. Leon. Epist. ad Vienn.

[f] Constitutio Valentiniani, iii. Augusti, apud S. Leonis Opera, Epist. xi. p. 642.

under the superiority of Arian sovereigns. If the provinces looked back, at least with the regret of interrupted habit, to the Imperial government, and in vain hoped for deliverance from the sinking house of Theodosius, the orthodox Church uttered its cry of distress to the Bishop of Rome. It was not, however against Arianism, but a more formidable and dangerous antagonist; one kindred to that which Leo had suppressed with such difficulty in his own immediate territory.

The blood of the Spanish Bishop Priscillian, the first martyr of heresy, as usual had flowed in vain. He had been put to death by the usurper Maximus, at the instigation of two other Spanish prelates, Ithacius and Valens; but to the undisguised horror of such Churchmen as Ambrose and Martin of Tours. Leo more sternly approved this sanguinary intervention of the civil power. But, in justice to Leo, it was the moral and social, rather than civil offence of which he supposed the Priscillians guilty, which justly called forth the vengeance of the temporal Sovereign. In such case alone the spiritual power, which abhorred legal acts of bloodshed, would recur to the civil authority.[g] But the opinions of Priscillian still prevailed, and even seemed to have taken deeper root in Spain. Prelates were infected with the indelible contagion. Turibius, the Bishop of Astorga, laid the burthen of his sorrows before Leo; he asked his advice in what manner to cope with these dangerous adversaries. The doctrines of the Priscillians are summed up in sixteen articles. In these appear the great universal principles of Gnosticism or Manicheism, or rather of Orientalism. The sole existence of the primal Godhead, which preceded the emanation of his virtues. In this primal Godhead, if they recognised a Trinity, it was but a trinity of names. In these articles their enemies detected Arianism and Sabellianism. To the Godhead was opposed the uncreated Power of dark-

[g] "Videbant enim omnem curam honestatis auferri, omnem conjugiorum copulam solvi, simulque divinum jus humanumque subverti, si hujusmodi hominibus usquam vivere cum tali professione licuisset. Profuit diu ista districtio ecclesiasticæ lenitatis, quæ etsi sacerdotali contenta judicio, cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen Christianorum principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium."—S. Leon. Epist. See Hist. of Christianity, iii. 262.

ness, equally eternal, sprung from chaos and gloom. The *Christ* existed not till he was born of the Virgin; it was his office to deliver the souls of men, those souls being of the divine Essence, from the bondage of the body, that body created by the spirit of darkness. The Priscillianites fasted rigidly on the day of the Nativity, and on every Sunday, as the day of Resurrection, no doubt not on account of the unreality of the Saviour's body, but for an opposite reason, because at his birth he was degraded to an union with a material body, and at his resurrection reassumed that infected condition. It was this that set them in perpetual, implacable antagonism, not merely in their secret opinions, but in their public and outward usages, with the rest of the Christian world. Their austere proscription of marriage, and aversion to the procreation of beings with material bodies, led to the accustomed charge, perhaps in many cases, among the rude and ignorant, to the natural consequence, gross licen- A.D. 447. tiousness. The peculiarity of the Priscillian system was an astrological Fatalism. The superstition which prevailed for so long a period in Europe, of assigning certain parts of the human body to the influences of the signs of the Zodiac, assumes its first distinct form in their tenets.[h] It was the earthly part which was subject to these powers, who in some mysterious way were concerned in its creation. Leo proceeded not, by a summary edict, to evoke this question from the Churches of Spain; he recommended the convocation of a general Council of Bishops from the four Provinces of Tarragona, Carthagena, Lusitania, and Gallicia. If the times prevented this general assembly, the Bishop of Astorga might appeal to a Provincial Council from Gallicia alone. Two Councils were held, one at Toledo, the other at Braga in Gallicia, in which Priscillianism was condemned in the usual terms of anathema.[i]

[h] Cap. xiv. apud Leon. Oper. p. 705. "Ad hanc insaniam pertinet prodigiosa illa totius humani corporis per duodecim cœli signa distinctio, ut diversis partibus diversæ præsideant potestates; et creatura, quam Deus ad imaginem suam fecit, in tantâ sit obligatione siderum, in quantâ est connexione membrorum."—S. Leon. Epist. xv.

[i] It is declared in this decree, that all who had been twice married, who had married widows, or divorced women, were canonically unfit for the priesthood. Nor was it any excuse that the first wife

Illyricum, in the primary division of the Empire, had been assigned to the West; it would be comprehended under the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. As early as the pontificate of Siricius, the metropolitan of Thessalonica was appointed as delegate of the Bishop of Rome to rule the province. To this precedent Leo appeals, when he invests Anastasius, Metropolitan of the same city, with equal powers.[k] But he does not rest his title to supremacy on his Patriarchal power, or on the claim of the Western Empire to the allegiance of Illyricum; he grounds it on the universal dominion which belongs to the successors of St. Peter. The province appears to have acquiesced in his authority, and received with due submission his ordinances concerning the election of Bishops and Metropolitans. But all graver causes were to be referred to Rome for judgment.

Illyricum.

The East, again plunged into a new controversy, might look with envy on the passive peace of the West. Supremacy, held by so firm and vigorous a hand as that of Leo, might seem almost necessary to Christendom. The Bishop of Rome, standing aloof, and only mingling in the contests by legates, whom he might disclaim at any time as exceeding their powers, could not but be heard with anxious submission by both parties, and by the Christian world at large. He would be contemplated with awful reverence, as attempting to command troubled Christendom into repose. Nestorianism had been, if not suppressed within the empire, reduced to the utmost weakness; it had been cast forth beyond the limits of the Roman world into distant and miserable exile. Nestorius himself had been the victim of the remorseless persecution.

The East.

But the theological balance was too nicely poised on this question, not speedily to descend on the opposite side. Cyril himself, by some of his strong expressions, had given manifest advantage to the Oriental Bishops.[m] Many who condemned the heresy of Nestorius, loudly impeached

had been married before baptism. "Cum in baptismate peccata deleantur, non uxorum numerus abrogetur."

[k] Epist. v. ad Episcop. Metropol. per Illyricum constitutos (Jan. 12, 444).

[m] See p. 150.

the orthodoxy of the Alexandrian Prelate. Almost throughout the East the monks, mindful perhaps of their Egyptian origin, had been strenuous in the cause of Cyril. In Constantinople they had overawed the government, and powerfully contributed to the discomfiture of Nestorius. But from character, education, and habits the Eastern monks were least qualified to be the arbiters in a controversy which depended on fine shades and differences of expression. Their dreamy and recluse life, their rigid ritual observances, even their austerities, instead of sharpening their intellects, led to vague conceptions; and the want of commerce with mankind disabled them from wielding the keen weapons of dialectics, or of comprehending the subtle distinctions taught in the schools of philosophy. From the temperament which drove them to the cell or cloister, and which was not corrected by enlightened education, their opinions quickly became passions; those passions were inflamed by mutual encouragement, emulation, and the corporate spirit of small communities, actuated by a dominant feeling. Nor with them were these, points of abstract and speculative theology; the honour of the Redeemer, the dignity of the Virgin Mother now so rapidly rising into an object of adoration, were deeply committed in the strife. Such men were to speak with precise and guarded language on the unity of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ; on the unity which combined the two in perfect harmony, yet allowed not either to encroach on the separate distinctness, the unalterable and uninterchangeable attributes of the other.

The Monks.

The foremost adherent of Cyril in Constantinople had been Eutyches, a Presbyter, the Archimandrite or Superior of a convent of monks without the walls of the city.[n] At his bidding the swarms of monks had thronged into the streets, defied the civil power, terrified the Emperor, and contributed, more than any other cause, to the final overthrow of Nestorius. He had grown old in the war against heresy; he had lived in continence

Eutyches.

[n] Eutyches is three times mentioned as a powerful ally of Cyril in the memorable letter to Maximianus, cited above. Flavian. Epist. ad Leon. Brev. Hist. Eutych. p. 759. Liberatus in Breviar.

for seventy years;[o] nor was it till after his departure from strict orthodoxy that men began to discover his total deficiency in learning.

Prelates of the Eastern Metropolitan sees.

A new race of Metropolitans had arisen in the more important sees of the East. That of Antioch was filled by Domnus, that of Alexandria by Dioscorus; Flavianus ruled the Church of Constantinople. All these prelates inherited the orthodox aversion to Nestorianism. Dioscorus, though he persecuted the relatives of Cyril, despoiled them of their property, and degraded them from their offices, with the violence, the turbulence, and the intolerance of his predecessor, adhered to his anti-Nestorian opinions. A great effort had been made to crush the lingering influence of those Prelates who had resisted Cyril. The aged Theodoret of Cyrus, who had accepted the peace of Antioch, but had not consented either to the condemnation or to the complete absolution of Cyril; Ibas of Edessa, who had defended the suspected writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; Irenæus of Tyre, who, as a civilian, when Count of the Empire, had been held a partisan of the Nestorian party, and though he had been twice married, had been promoted to that see: these, with some others, were degraded from their rank, and sent into exile.

In all these movements, Eutyches and his monks had joined—always their clamours; where tumults in the streets of Constantinople or elsewhere were necessary to advance their cause, succours less becoming their secluded, peaceful, and unworldly character. On a sudden, Eutyches, from the all-honoured and boastful champion of orthodoxy, to his own surprise (for in justice to him he seems to have had no very distinct notions of his own heterodoxy),[p] is arraigned, condemned, and finally branded to posterity as the head of a new and odious heresy.

Eutyches accused.

In a Synod held at Constantinople, under the Bishop Flavianus, Eusebius, Bishop of Doryleum, solemnly charged Eutyches with denying the two

[o] Ad Leon. Epist. sub fin. He complains in another place that Flavianus had not respected his grey hairs.

[p] Leo writes of him with sovereign contempt: "Qui ne ipsius quidem symboli initia comprehendit." This old man has not learned what are the first lessons of the Christians. Ad Flavian.

natures in Christ. Thrice was Eutyches summoned before this tribunal, thrice he resisted or eluded the formal citation. He declared himself bound by a vow not to quit his monastery; a vow which, as his adversaries reminded him, he had not very religiously respected during the tumults against Nestorius: he pleaded bad health; he promised to come forward on a future day. At length he condescended to appear, but environed by a rout of turbulent monks, and with an Imperial officer, Florianus, who demanded to take his place in the Synod. The affair now proceeded with more decent gravity. The charge was made by Eusebius, who had practised in the schools as a Master of Rhetoric.[q] Eutyches in vain struggled to extricate himself from the grasp of the rigid logician. He took refuge in vague and ambiguous expressions, he equivocated, he contradicted himself; his merciless antagonist pressed him in his dialectic toils, and at length extorted the heretical confession: the two natures which were distinct before the Incarnation, in the Christ were blended and confounded in one. The Synod heard the confession with horror, amazement, and regret; the awful sentence of excommunication was passed; the implacable assertor of orthodoxy against Nestorius found himself cast forth as a convicted and proscribed author of heresy. Excommunicated.

But this grave ecclesiastical proceeding has another side. The secret history of the times, preserved by a later but trustworthy authority, if it does not resolve the whole into a wretched court intrigue, connects it too closely with the rise and fall of conflicting female influence, and the power of an Eunuch minister.[r] The sage and virtuous Pulcheria had long ruled with undisputed sway the feeble mind of her Imperial brother, Theodosius II. Chrysaphius the Eunuch had risen to the chief administration of public affairs. He was scheming to balance, or entirely to overthrow the authority of Pulcheria by the influence of the Empress, the beautiful Eudocia. Chrysaphius was the godson of Eutyches. He had hoped to raise the monk to the see of Constantinople. The A.D. 441.

[q] Evagrius.

[r] Theophanes, Chronog. p. 153. Edit. Bonn.

elevation of Flavianus crossed these designs. But Chrysaphius did not despair of his end; he still hoped to expel Flavianus from the throne, and replace him by his own spiritual father. Either to estrange the mind of the Emperor from Flavianus, or to gratify his own rapacity, he demanded the customary present to the Emperor on the Prelate's inauguration. Flavianus tendered three loaves of white bread. The minister indignantly rejected this poor offering, and demanded a considerable weight of gold. Such offering Flavianus could only furnish by a sacrilegious invasion of the treasures, or profanation of the sacred vessels of the Church. This quarrel was hardly appeased when Chrysaphius endeavoured, with more dangerous friendship, to implicate Flavianus in his own intrigues against Pulcheria. Flavianus not merely eluded the snare, but the Eunuch suspected the Bishop of betraying his secret designs. Eusebius, the antagonist of Eutyches, was of the party of Pulcheria before his advancement to the see of Doryleum; he had held a civil office, probably in the household of the Emperor's sister. He had been an early and an ardent adversary of Nestorius; he now stood forward as the accuser of the no less heretical Eutyches.

Eutyches appeals.

But Eutyches was too powerful in the support of his faithful monks, and in the favour of the minister, to submit either to the Bishop of Constantinople, or to a local Synod. He appealed to Christendom—from the Metropolitan of Constantinople to the Metropolitans of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Rome. He accused the Bishops at Constantinople of forging or of altering the Acts of their Synod. He demanded a General Council to examine his opinions. The Emperor, under the influence of Chrysaphius, acceded to the request; the Council was summoned to meet at Ephesus, under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria. Letters were despatched to the West by both parties, by Eutyches not only to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Bishop of Ravenna,[s] and no doubt to others. The sup-

[s] The answer of the Bishop of Ravenna is extant in the works of S. Leo, Epist. xxv. The close, in which Chrysologus defers most humbly to Rome, seems to me suspicious.

port of Leo was too important not to be sought with earnest solicitude. But Eutyches addressed him as a suppliant, imploring his protection against injustice and persecution; Flavianus as an equal, who condescended to inform his brother Bishop of the measures which he had taken against an heretical subject of his diocese, and requested him to communicate the decree of the Constantinopolitan Synod to his brethren in the West. The consentient voice of Leo might restore peace to Christendom. But Leo was too wise to be deluded by the servility of Eutyches, or offended by the stately courtesy of Flavianus.[t] He waited to form his decision with cautious dignity.

Council called "Robber Synod" of Ephesus, Aug. 8, A.D. 449.

At Ephesus met that assembly which has been branded by the odious name of the "Robber Synod." But it is difficult to discover in what respect, either in the legality of its convocation, or the number and dignity of the assembled prelates, consists its inferiority to more received and honoured Councils. Two Imperial Commissioners, Elpidius and Eulogius, attended to maintain order in the Council, and peace in the city. Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, by the Imperial command assumed the presidency.[u] The bishops who formed the Synod of Constantinople were excluded as parties in the transaction, but Flavianus took his place, with the Metropolitans of Antioch and Jerusalem, and no less than three hundred and sixty bishops and ecclesiastics. Three ecclesiastics, Julian, a Bishop, Renatus, a Presbyter, and Hilarius, a Deacon, were to represent the Bishop of Rome.[x] The Abbot Barsumas (this was an innovation)

[t] Quesnel and Pagi on one side, Baronius and the Ballerinis on the other, contest the relative priority of two letters addressed by Flavianus to Leo. The question in debate is whether Flavianus initiated an appeal to Rome. But neither of them contains any recognition of Leo's authority. In the first, according to Ballerini, he sends the account of the proceedings. ὥστε καὶ τὴν σὴν ὁσίοτητα γνοῦσαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν, πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν τελοῦσι θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις δῆλην ποιῆσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δυσσέβειαν.—p. 757. The second letter, as printed by the Ballerinis, is in the same tone: δίκαιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἡγοῦμαι, διδαχθῆναι ὑμᾶς, ὡς ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

[u] Dioscorus wanted the severe and unimpeached austerity of Cyril. He was said to have had a mistress named Irene. He is the subject of the well-known epigram which illustrates Alexandrian wit and boldness—

"Εἰρήνη πάντεσσιν," Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐπελθών,
Πῶς δύναται πάντεσσ', ἣν μόνος ἔνδον ἔχει;

[x] They were attended by Dulcitius, a notary. S. Leo ad Synod. Ephes. One

took his seat in the Council, as a kind of representative of the monks.

Though commenced with seeming regularity, the proceedings of the assembly soon degenerated into disgraceful turbulence, violence, and personal conflict. But it is impossible to deny that in this respect the Robber Synod only too faithfully followed, if it exceeded, the legitimate and Œcumenic Council of Ephesus. Its acts were marked with the same indecent precipitation; questions were carried by factious acclamations within, and the Council was overawed by riotous mobs without. But that which was pardonable and even righteous zeal in the cause of Cyril, was sacrilegious tumult in that of Eutyches: the monks who had been welcomed and encouraged as holy champions of the faith when they issued from their cells to affright the Emperor into the condemnation of Nestorius, when they thronged around Eutyches became a mutinous and ignorant rabble.[y]

The Egyptian faction (for Dioscorus, though tyrannical to the kindred and adherents of Cyril, embraced his opinions with the utmost ardour) looked to this Council, not so much for the vindication of Eutyches, as for the total suppression of Nestorianism, and, no doubt, the abasement of Flavianus, and in the person of Flavianus, of the aspiring see of Constantinople. But in their blind heat they involved themselves with the creed of Eutyches. The Council commenced with the usual formalities. The proposition to read the letters of Leo to Flavianus, which condemned the doctrine of Eutyches, was refused with the utmost contempt.[z] Then were rehearsed the acts of the Synod of Constantinople. On the first mention of the two natures in Christ an angry dispute arose. But when the question put to Eutyches by Eusebius of Doryleum was read, whether he acknowledged the two natures after the incarnation, the assembly broke out with one voice, "Away with Eusebius! banish Eusebius!

Decree of the Council. A.D. 449.

Bishop, Renatus, had died on the road, Hilarius seems to have taken the lead among Leo's legates.

[y] Compare Walch, p. 215.

[z] "Quem Alexandrinus antistes, qui totum solus ibi potentiæ suæ vindicavit, audire contempsit," ἀκούσαι καπίστευσιν in the Greek.—S. Leon. Epist. I. ad Constantinop. Leo's letter exists in indifferent Greek, and worse Latin, dated 449, Jan. 13.

let him be burned alive! As he cuts asunder the two natures in Christ, so be he cut asunder!" The President put the question, "Is the doctrine that there are two natures after the incarnation to be tolerated?" The sacred Council replied, "Anathema on him who so says!" "I have your voices," said Dioscorus, "I must have your hands! He that cannot cry, let him lift up his hands!" With an unanimous suffrage the whole assembly proclaimed, "Accursed be he who says there are two!" The Council proceeded to absolve Eutyches from all suspicion of heterodoxy, and to reinstate him in all his ecclesiastical honours; to depose Flavianus and Eusebius, and to deprive them of all their dignities. Flavianus alone pronounced his appeal; Hilarius, the Roman deacon, alone refused his assent.[a] The unanimity of the assembly is unquestionable, but it is asserted, and on strong grounds, that it was an unanimity enforced by the dread of the imperial soldiery and the savage monks, who environed and even broke in, and violated the sanctity of the Council.[b] Dioscorus pursued his triumph. The deposition of Ibas of Edessa, Theodoret of Cyrus, Irenæus of Tyre, and of others who were suspected of Nestorianism, or at least refused to subscribe the anathemas of Cyril, was confirmed. Domnus of Antioch was involved in their fate. Hilarius the deacon fled to Rome; but not so fortunate was Flavianus. After suffering personal insults, it is said even blows, from the furious Dioscorus himself, instigated by the monk Barsumas, who shouted aloud, "Strike him, strike him dead!" he expired after a few days, either of his wounds, of exhaustion, or mental suffering. Thus was this the first, but not the last, Christian Council which was defiled with blood.[c] Death of Flavianus.

Alexandria had succeeded in dictating its doctrine to the whole of Christendom; the Patriarch of Alexandria had triumphed over both his rivals, had deposed the Metropolitan of Antioch, and the more dreaded Bishop of

[a] We hear nothing of the other legate of Leo, the Bishop Julian; the Presbyter Renatus was dead.

[b] See the evidence of Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea.

[c] Leo, writing from the report of Hilarius, the Deacon, "Magnum facinus Alexandrino Episcopo *auctore* vel *executore* commissum est."—Epist. ad Anat.

Eastern Rome. Nor was this all. An Imperial edict avouched the orthodoxy and confirmed the acts of the second Council of Ephesus. It involved Flavianus and Eusebius in the charge of Nestorianism; it proscribed Nestorianism in all its forms, branding it by the ill-omened name of Simonianism: it forbade the consecration of any bishop favourable to Nestorius or Flavianus, and deposed them, if unwarily consecrated: it condemned all worship or religious meetings of the Nestorians (and all who were not Eutychians were in danger of being declared Nestorians), under the penalty of confiscation and exile; and interdicted the reading of all Nestorian books, which are ranked with the anti-Christian writings of Porphyry; that is, the works of Nestorius and of Theodoret, and according to one copy of the law, those of Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsuestia also, under the same penalties.

But the law might command, it could not enforce peace. Eastern Christendom was severed into two conflicting parties. Egypt, Palestine, and Thrace, adhered to Dioscorus, while the rest of Asiatic Christendom, Pontus and Asia Minor, still clung to the cause of Flavianus.[d] Strengthened by the unanimous consent of the West, which entered so reluctantly into these fine metaphysical subtleties, Leo, the Bishop of Rome, refused all recognition of the Ephesian Council. Dioscorus, in the heat of his passion and the pride of success, broke off (an unheard of and unprecedented boldness) all communion with Rome.

A sudden and total revolution at once took place. The change was wrought,—not by the commanding voice of ecclesiastical authority,—not by the argumentative eloquence of any great writer, who by his surpassing abilities awed the world into peace,—not by the reaction of pure Christian charity, drawing together the conflicting parties by evangelic love. It was a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople.

The feeble Theodosius dies; the masculine Pulcheria —the champion and the pride of orthodoxy—the friend of Flavianus and of Leo, ascends the throne, and gives

[d] Liberat. Brev. c. xii.

her hand, with a share in the empire, to a brave soldier named Marcianus.

The hopes of one party, and the apprehensions of the other, were realised with the utmost rapidity. The first act of the Government, which Anatolius, the new bishop, who, though nominated by the Egyptian party, was a moderate prudent man, either acquiesced in or promoted, was the quiet removal of Eutyches from the city. This measure was confirmed by a synod at Constantinople.

A more full and authoritative Council could alone repeal the acts of the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus. The only opposition to the summons of such Council at Chalcedon arose from Leo. The Roman Pontiff had urged on the Western Emperor (it is said, on his knees) the necessity for a general Council. But Leo desired a Council in Italy, where no one could dispute the presidency of the Roman prelate. Prescient, it might seem, of the decree at Chalcedon, which raised the Patriarch of Constantinople to an equality with the Bishop of Rome, he dreaded the convocation of a Council in the precincts and under the immediate influence of the Byzantine court.

At Chalcedon, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, met that assembly, which has been admitted to rank as the fourth, by some as the last, of the great Œcumenic Councils. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, was present, with Macrianus of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem. Leo appointed as his representatives two bishops and a presbyter.[e] Above five hundred bishops[f] made their appearance. Dioscorus of Alexandria was there, but sate not in the order of his rank, and was not allowed the right of suffrage. Theodoret of Cyrus claimed his seat, but did not obtain it without violent resistance from the Egyptian faction, who denounced him as a Nestorian: his own party retorted the charge against the Egyptians, as persecutors of Flavianus, and as Manicheans. The Imperial Commissioners

Council of Chalcedon. Oct. 8, A.D. 451.

[e] Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, Lucentius, Bishop of Esculanum (Ascoli), Boniface, Presbyter of the Church of Rome.

[f] This is the number in the Breviar. Marcellinus raises the number to six hundred and thirty. Between four and five hundred signatures are appended to the acts.

reproved with firmness, and repressed with dignity, but with much difficulty, these rabble-like proceedings.[g]

The first act of the Council, after the proceedings of the Synod at Ephesus had been read, was to annul the articles of deposition against Flavianus and Eusebius. Many of the bishops expressed their penitence at their concurrence in these acts: some saying that they were compelled by force to subscribe—others to subscribe a blank paper. The Council proceeded to frame a resolution, deposing Dioscorus and five other bishops, as having iniquitously exercised undue influence in the Council of Ephesus. But the right of approbation of this decree was
Oct. 10. reserved to the Emperor. During the whole of this first session, Dioscorus had confronted his adversaries with the utmost intrepidity, readiness, and self-command. He cried aloud, "They are condemning not me alone, but Athanasius and Cyril. They forbid us to assert the two natures after the incarnation." The night drew on; Dioscorus demanded an adjournment; the Senate refused; the acts were read over by torchlight. The bishops of Illyria proclaimed their abandonment of the cause of Dioscorus. The night was disturbed by wild cries of acclamation to the Emperor and the Senate, appeals to God, anathema to Dioscorus—"Christ has deposed Dioscorus—Christ has deposed the murderer—God has avenged his martyrs!" The Council at the next session proceeded to the definition of the true faith. The Creeds of Nicea and of Constantinople, the two Epistles of Cyril, and above all the Epistle of Leo to Flavianus, were recognised as containing the orthodox Christian doctrine. The letter of Leo excited acclamations of unbounded joy. "This is the belief of the Fathers,—of the Apostles!" "So believe we all!" "Accursed be he that admits not that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo!" "Leo has taught what is righteous and true; and so taught Cyril!" "Eternal be the memory of Cyril!" "Why was not this read at Ephesus? It was suppressed by Dioscorus!" With this

[g] It is said in the Breviar. Hist. Eutych. that the Emperor and Senate were present. The Senate appears in the acts.

there was again a strange mingled outcry of the Bishops, confessing their sin and imploring forgiveness, and of the adversaries of Dioscorus, chiefly the clergy of Constantinople, clamouring, "Away with the Egyptian, the Egyptian into exile!"

The Imperial Commissioners, who, with some few of the Bishops, were anxious that affairs should proceed with more dignified calmness, hardly restrained the impulse of the Council, who were eager to proceed by acclamation, and at once, to the condemnation of Dioscorus; they accused him of being a Jew. It would, perhaps, have been better for that prelate, if they had been permitted to follow their impulse. For charges now began to multiply and to darken against the falling Patriarch— charges of disloyalty, of tyranny, of rapacity, of incontinence. Thrice was he summoned to appear (he had not been permitted to resume his seat, or had withdrawn during the stormy course of the proceedings), thrice he disobeyed, or attempted to elude the summons. The solemn sentence was then pronounced by one of the Western Bishops, the representatives of Leo. It stated that Dioscorus, sometime Bishop of Alexandria, had been found guilty of divers ecclesiastical offences. To pass over many, he had admitted Eutyches, a man under excommunication by lawful authority, into communion; he had haughtily repelled all remonstrances; he had refused to read the Epistle of Leo at the Council of Ephesus; he had even aggravated his guilt, by daring to place the Bishop of Rome himself under interdict.[h] Leo, therefore, by their voice, and with the authority of the Council, in the name of the Apostle Peter, the Rock and Foundation of the Church, deposes Dioscorus from his episcopal dignity, and excludes him from all Christian rights and privileges. The unanimous Council subscribes the judgment.[i]

Condemnation of Dioscorus.

Oct. 13.

[h] Page 424.

[i] It is remarkable that the decree took no notice of the various imputations of heresy against Dioscorus, none of the accusations of murder said to have been perpetrated by him in Alexandria. Compare especially the libel of Ischyrion the Deacon, who offers to substantiate his charges by witnesses. Either Dioscorus was one of the most wicked of men, or Ischyrion the most audacious of calumniators.—Labbe, p. 398-400.

The decree was temperate and dignified; it contained no unfair or exaggerated accusations; though it might dwell with undue weight on the insulting conduct towards Leo, it condescended to no fierce and abusive appellations. Nor was the grave majesty of the assembly disturbed by a desperate rally of the monks, headed by Barsumas. This man, as not unjustly supposed of being implicated in the death of Flavianus, the assembly refused to admit to the honours of a seat. Repelled on all sides, and awed by the Imperial power, the monks appealed to Christ from Cæsar, shook their garments in contempt of the Council, and as a protest against the injustice done to Dioscorus; and then sullenly retired to their solitudes to brood over and propagate in secret their Monophysite doctrines. Some of their traditions assert, in characteristic language, that Barsumas, thus ignominiously expelled by the Council and by the Emperor, pronounced his curse against Pulcheria. She died a few days afterwards, and Barsumas, while he took rank among his followers as a prophet and man of God, became from that time an object of cruel and unrelenting persecution by his enemies.

Barsumas the monk.

It is remarkable that the formulary of faith adopted finally by the Council of Chalcedon was brought forward by the Imperial Commissioners. After much altercation and delay, it received at length the sanction of the Council. After this the Civil Government (the Emperor Marcian) issued two laws, addressed to all orders, to the clergy, to the military, and to the commonalty; one prohibited the future agitation of these questions, as tending to tumult: it denounced as the penalty for offences against the statute, degradation to the ecclesiastic; to the soldier ignominious expulsion from the army; to the common man exile from the Imperial city.[k] The second decree confirmed all the proceedings at Chalcedon, enforced on the public mind the deferential conclusion, that no private man could hope to arrive at a sounder understanding of these mysteries

[k] A strong canon of the Council of Chalcedon against simony implies that the benefices in the East, as in the West, were highly lucrative.

than had been painfully attained by so many holy bishops, and only after much prayer and profound investigation. The punishment of dissent was left indefinite and at the will of the civil rulers.

But before the final dissolution of the Council at Chalcedon, among thirty canons on ecclesiastical subjects, appeared one of singular importance to Christendom. It asserted the supremacy of the Roman See, not in right of its descent from St. Peter, but solely as the Bishopric of the Imperial City. It assigned, therefore, to the Bishop of the New Rome, as equal in civil dignity, a co-equal and co-ordinate ecclesiastical authority.[m] This canon, it is averred, was passed by a few bishops, who lingered behind the rest of the Council; it claims only the subscription of one hundred and fifty prelates, and those chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople. It is not indeed likely that the Alexandrian Church, though depressed by the ignominious degradation of its head, still less that the more ancient Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem should thus tamely acquiesce in the assumption of superiority (unless it were a measure enforced by the Imperial power) by the modern and un-Apostolic Church of Byzantium.[n] Leo from this period denounces the arrogance and presumption of Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople; and this canon of the Œcumenic Council has been refused all validity in the West.

Throughout this long and melancholy ecclesiastical civil war, the Bishop of Rome could not but continue to rise in estimation and reverence, and in their inseparable result, authority. While the East had thus been distracted in every province, the West had enjoyed almost profound religious peace. The circumstances of the time contributed to this state of things; the pre-occupation of the whole Western empire by the terrors of the most formidable in-

[m] Καὶ γὰρ τῷ ἑρονῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα.—Can. xxviii. p. 769.

[n] Leo, in his three epistles on the subject, seems to espouse the cause of Antioch and Alexandria, as insulted by their degradation from the second and third rank; rivalry with Rome on their part is a pretension of which he will not condescend to entertain a suspicion. "Tanquam opportunè se tempus hoc tibi obtulerit, quo *secundi* honoris privilegium sedes Alexandrina perdiderit, et Antiochena Ecclesia proprietatem *tertiæ* dignitatis amiserit, ut his locis juri tuo subditis, Metropolitani Episcopi proprio honore priventur."—Epist. liii.: ad Anatol. Const. Episc. The Bishop of Rome rebukes the ambition of his brother prelate in the words of St. Paul, "Be not high-minded, but fear!!"

vasion which had ever menaced society; the general disinclination to those fine theologic distinctions, which rose out of the Grecian schools of philosophy; and, perhaps, the desolation by the savage Vandals of the African Churches, which were most likely to plunge hotly into such disputes, and to drag with them the rest of Latin Christendom. During the whole feud the predecessors of Leo, and Leo himself, had calmly and firmly adhered to those doctrines which were finally received as orthodox. They had acted by common consent as heads and representatives of Western Christendom, and had fully justified the unquestioning confidence of the West by their congeniality with the universal sentiment. Nor had their dignity suffered in the eyes of men by the humiliating scenes to which the great prelates of the East, the Metropolitans of Antioch, of Constantinople, and Alexandria, had been continually exposed; arraignment as heretics, as criminals, before successive Councils, deposition, expulsion from their sees, excommunication, exile, even death. The feeble interdict issued by Dioscorus against Leo might have been shaken off with silent contempt, if it had not rather suited him to treat it with indignation. Still more the Bishop of Rome had stood uncontaminated, in dignified seclusion from the wretched intrigues and bribery, the venal favour of unpopular ministers, and the trembling dependence on Imperial caprice. Every year became more and more manifest the advantage derived by the Bishop of Rome from the abandonment of Rome as the Imperial residence. The Metropolitan of Constantinople might claim, by an ecclesiastical canon, equality with the Roman Pontiff; but the one was growing up into an independent Potentate, while the other, living under the darkening shadow of Imperial pomp and power, could not but shrink into a helpless instrument of the Imperial will. The fate of the Bishop of Constantinople, his rank and his authority in the Church, even his orthodoxy, depended virtually on the decree of the Emperor. Appearing in all the controversies of the East only in the persons of his delegates, the Bishop of Rome had preserved his majesty uninsulted and unhumbled by

the degrading invectives, altercations, even personal contumelies, which had violated the sanctity of the great Eastern prelates. Even if they had not provoked, if they had borne with the most saintly patience the outrages of the popular or monkish rabble at Ephesus or Constantinople, in the general mind the holy character could not but be lowered by these debasing scenes.

Leo seemed fully to comprehend the importance and the dignity of his position. He took the most zealous interest in the whole controversy, but his activity was grave, earnest, and serious. His language to the Eastern Emperors, and especially to the Princess Pulcheria, may sound too adulatory to modern ears. The divinity of the earthly sovereign was acknowledged in terms too nearly approaching that reserved for the great divine Sovereign. This, however, must be judged with some regard to the sentiments and expressions of the age; and his deference was in language rather than in thought. Leo addresses these earthly masters with an independence of opinion, more as their equal, almost more as their master, than would have been ventured by any other subject at that time in either empire.

In the West, meantime, Leo might seem, under the sole impulse of generous self-devotion, and reliance on the majesty of religion, to assume the noblest function of the civil power, the preservation of the Empire, of Italy, of Rome itself, of Christianity, from the most tremendous enemy which had ever threatened their freedom and peace. While the Emperor Valentinian III. took refuge in Rome, and rumours spread abroad of his meditated flight, abdication, abandonment of his throne, Leo almost alone stood fearless. An embassy, of which the Bishop of Rome was no doubt considered by the general reverence of his own age, as well as by posterity, as the head and chief, arrested the terrible Attila on the frontiers of Italy, and dispersed the host of savage and but half-human Huns. Leo, to grateful Rome, might appear as the peaceful Camillus, as the unarmed Marius, repelling invaders far more fearful than the Gauls or the Cimbrians.

The terror of Europe at the invasion of the Huns

naturally and justifiably surpassed that of all former barbaric invasions. The Goths and other German tribes were familiar to the sight of the Romans; some of them had long been settled within the frontier of the empire; they were already for the most part Christian, and, to a certain extent, Romanized in their manners and habits. The Mongol race, with their hideous, misshapen, and, as they are described, scarcely human figures, their wild habits, their strange language, their unknown origin, their numbers, exaggerated no doubt by fear, and swollen by the aggregation of all the savage tribes who were compelled or eagerly crowded to join the predatory warfare, but which seemed absolutely inexhaustible; their almost unresisted career of victory, devastation, and carnage, from the remotest East till they were met by Aëtius on the field of Châlons: at the present time the vast monarchy founded by Attila, which overshadowed the whole Northern frontier of the Empire, and to which the Gothic and other Teutonic kings rendered a compulsory allegiance; their successful inroads on the Eastern Empire, even to the gates of Constantinople; the haughty and contemptuous tone in which they conducted their negotiations, had almost appalled the Roman mind into the apathy of despair. Religion, instead of rousing to a noble resistance against this heathen race, which threatened to overrun the whole of Christendom, by acquiescing in Attila's proud appellation, the Scourge of God, seemed to justify a dastardly prostration before the acknowledged emissary of the divine wrath. The spell, it is true, of Attila's irresistible power had been broken; he had suffered a great defeat, and Gaul was, for a time at least, wrested from his dominion by the valour and generalship of Aëtius. But when, infuriated, as it might seem, more than discouraged by his discomfiture, the yet formidable Hun suddenly descended upon Italy, the whole peninsula lay defenceless before him. Aëtius, as is most probable, was unable, as his enemies afterwards declared, was traitorously unwilling, to throw himself between the barbarians and Rome. The last struggles of Roman pride, which had rejected the demand of Attila for the hand of the Princess

Honoria (his self-offered bride, whose strange adventures illustrate the degradation of the Imperial family), and which had been delayed by the obstinate resistance of Aquileia to the whole army of Attila, were crushed by the fall and utter extermination of that city, and the total subjugation of Italy as far as the banks of the Po.[o] Valentinian, the Emperor, fled from Ravenna to Rome. To some no doubt he might appear to seek succour at the feet of the Roman Pontiff; but the abandonment of Italy was rumoured to be his last desperate determination.

Invasion of Attila.

At this fearful crisis, the insatiable and victorious Hun seemed suddenly and unaccountably to pause in his career of triumph. He stood rebuked and subdued before a peaceful embassy, of which, with the greater part of the world, the Bishop of Rome, as he held the most conspicuous station, so he received almost all the honour. The names of the rich Consular Avienus, of the Prefect of Italy, Trigetius, who ventured with Leo to confront the barbarian conqueror, were speedily forgotten; and Leo stands forth the sole preserver of Italy. On the shores of the Benacus the ambassadors encountered the fearful Attila. Overawed (as the belief was eagerly propagated, and as eagerly accepted) by the personal dignity, the venerable character, and by the religious majesty of Leo, Attila consented to receive the large dowry of the Princess Honoria, and to retire from Italy. The death of Attila in the following year, by the bursting of a blood-vessel, on the night during which he had wedded a new wife, may have been brooding, as it were, in his constitution, and somewhat subdued his fiercer energy of ambition. His army, in all probability, was weakened by its conquests, and by the uncongenial climate and unaccustomed luxuries of Italy. But religious awe may still have been the dominant feeling which enthralled the mind of Attila. The Hun, with the usual superstitiousness of the polytheist, may have trembled before the God of the stranger, whom nevertheless he did not worship. The best historian of the period relates that the

[o] Compare Gibbon, c. xxxv. Observe the characteristic words of Jornandes: "Dum ad aulæ *decus* virginitatem suam cogeretur custodire."

fate of Alaric, who had survived so short a time the conquest of Rome, was known to Attila, and seemed to have made a profound impression upon him.[p] The dauntless confidence and the venerable aspect of Leo would A.D. 452. confirm this apprehension of encountering, as it were, in his sanctuary the God now adored by the Romans. Legend, indeed, has attributed the submission of Attila to a visible apparition of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the trembling heathen with a speedy divine judgment if he repelled the proposals of their successor. But this materialising view, though it may have heightened the beauty of Raffaelle's painting of Leo's meeting with Attila, by the introduction of preter-human forms, lowers the moral grandeur of the whole transaction. The simple faith in his God, which gave the Roman Pontiff courage to confront, and threw that commanding majesty over his words and actions which wrought upon the mind of the barbarian, is far more Christianly sublime than this unnecessarily-imagined miracle.

The incorrigible Romans alone, in their inextinguishable pagan superstition, or their ineradicable pagan passion for the amphitheatre, attributed the deliverance of the city not to the intercession of Leo (like the rest of the world), or to the mercy of God, but to the influence of the stars. They crowded (to his indignation) to the Circensian games, rather than to the tombs of the martyrs.[q] Leo might save Rome from the sword of the heathen barbarian, he could not save it from the vices of the Christian sovereign, which were precipitating the Western

[p] Priscus, quoted by Jornandes, c. 42.

[q] "Pudet dicere, sed oportet non tacere: plus impenditur dæmoniis quam apostolis, et majorem obtinent insana spectacula frequentiam, quam beata martyria." —S. Leon. Serm. lxxxiv. I am inclined to concur with Baronius (Annal. sub ann.) rather than with the later editors of S. Leo's works, Quesnel and the Ballerinis, in assigning the short sermon on the Octave of St. Peter to the deliverance from Attila, not to the evacuation of the city by Genseric. Ballerini's view seems impossible. The death of the Emperor Maximus (see below) took place on the 12th of June, three days after Genseric entered the city; the sack of the city lasted fourteen days, till St. Peter's Day, the 29th; yet Ballerini would suppose that on the octave of that day the Romans were so far recovered from their consternation, danger, and ruin, as to celebrate the Circensian games at great expense, and to attend them in multitudes, which provoked the holy indignation of the bishop. The deliverance, which they ascribed to the stars, rather than to the mercy of God, can hardly have been the abandonment of the plundered and desolate city, with hundreds of the inhabitants carried away into captivity.

Empire to its fall, and brought down on Rome a second capture, more destructive than that of the Goth, by the Vandal Genseric. Valentinian III. had taken refuge at Rome; but he found Rome not only more secure, but in its society, its luxury, and its dissoluteness, a more congenial scene for his licence than the confined and secluded Ravenna. He returned to it to indulge more freely in his promiscuous amours. At length the violation of the wife of a Senator, Petronius Maximus, of the highest rank and great wealth, caused his assassination. In Valentinian closed the Western line of descendants from the great Theodosius. The vengeance of Maximus was not content with the sceptre of the murdered Valentinian; he compelled Eudoxia, the Empress, during the first months of her widowhood, to receive him as her husband; and in the carelessness or the insolence of his triumph, betrayed his own complicity, which was before doubtful, in the assassination of Valentinian. Eudoxia determined on revenge; from her Imperial kindred in the East she could expect no succour; the Vandal fleets covered the Mediterranean; Genseric, not satiated with the conquest of Africa, had already subdued Sicily. At the secret summons of the Empress he landed with a powerful force, at the mouth of the Tiber. The defenceless Romans hastened to sacrifice the cause of their calamities; they joined the followers of Eudoxia in a general insurrection, in which the miserable Maximus perished; his body was hewn in pieces and then cast into the Tiber.[r]

But the ambition and the rapacity of Genseric were not appeased by this victim; he advanced towards Rome, where no measures of defence had been taken; none perhaps could have been organised in a city without a ruler, and without a standing force. Leo was again the only safeguard of the city; but the Bishop of Rome was still a man of Christian peace. Unarmed, at the head of his clergy, he issued forth to meet the invader; and though the Arian Vandal, within sight of his prey, and actually master of Rome, still the centre of riches and luxury,

[r] Procop. Hist. Vandal. On the character and history of Maximus, read Letter of Sidon. Apollinar. 11, 13.

Rome open to his own rapacity and that of his soldiers—was less submissive than the heathen Hun; yet even he consented to some restraint on the cruelty and licence which attend the sack of a captured city. The lives of those who offered no resistance were to be spared; the buildings to be guarded against conflagration, the captives protected from torture. But that was all (and it was much at such a crisis) which the authority of the Pontiff could obtain. The Roman Leo with the rest of his countrymen must witness, what may seem to have aggravated the calamity in the estimation of the world, the late revenge of Carthage, the plunder of Rome by the conquering Africans.[s] In the pillage, which lasted for fourteen days, if the edifices were spared, the treasuries of the churches were forced to surrender all which they had accumulated from the pious munificence of the public, during the forty-five years which had elapsed since the sack by Alaric.[t] It has been observed as a singular event that Genseric, a barbarian from the shores of the Baltic, compelled Rome to surrender, and transported to the shores of Africa the spoils of two religions. From the Temple of Peace in Rome he carried off the plunder of the Jewish Holy of Holies, the gold table, and the seven-branched candlestick, which had been deposited as trophies by the Emperor Titus. Roman paganism suffered loss no less insulting than that she had inflicted on Jerusalem. The statues of the gods and heroes of ancient Rome had been still permitted to adorn the Capitoline Temple. These, with the roof of gilt bronze, became the prey of the African Vandals, and were consigned as trophies to Carthage. Rome thus ceased altogether to be a pagan city; and Genseric accomplished what, by the dispersion of the old pagan families, had been more than begun by Alaric. The last bond was broken between Christian Rome and the religion

A.D. 455.

[s] See the spirited lines of Sidonius,—

Heu facinus! in bella iterum *quartosque* labores
Perfida Elisseæ crudescunt classica Byrsæ.
Nutritis quod fata malùm! Conscenderat arces
Evandri Massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini
Marmarici pressere pedes, rursusque revexit.
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barche.
Sid. Apoll. Panegyric.—444.

[t] Leo from the wreck saved three large silver vessels, of 100 pounds each, which he caused to be cast into communion plate for the other destitute churches. Baronius, from this, and other equally insufficient reasons, infers that the three great churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Lateran (?) escaped.

of ancient Rome. The ship which bore the gods of Rome to Carthage foundered at sea. The amount of plunder from the Imperial palace and those of the still wealthy nobility, from the temples and the churches, is vaguely stated at many thousand talents. The Vandal avarice stooped to the meaner metals; the copper and the brass were swept away with remorseless rapacity. The Roman aristocracy, which had been scattered to so great an extent by the conquest of Alaric, were now in numbers carried away into captivity; families were broken up, wives separated from husbands, children from parents. Even the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters, the sole survivors of the Western line of Theodosius, were transported as honourable bond-slaves to Carthage; one of the daughters, Eudocia, Genseric married to his son; the mother and the other daughter, who was already married, he released at the request of the Byzantine Emperor Leo, and sent them to Constantinople. But with every successive decimation which thus fell on the Roman nobility, the relative importance of the clergy must have increased, as did that of the Pontiff from the absence of the Emperor from the capital. Rome, after the departure of Genseric's fleet, laden with the spoils and crowded with captives, selected for their rank, their accomplishments, the females no doubt for their beauty, or for their easy submission to the will of the conqueror, was left without government, almost without social organisation, except that of the Church. The first Emperor who aspired to the succession of Maximus was Avitus in Gaul:

The calamity, which could not be averted by the commanding authority of the Bishop of Rome, was mitigated by the active and judicious charity of the Bishop of Carthage. Deo Gratias, by the manner in which he devoted himself to the service of the wretched captives dragged away from Rome, has extorted the sincere admiration of an historian in general too blind to the true beauty of the Christian religion.[u] The Bishop of Carthage had no scruple in sacrificing that which had been offered to give splendour to the worship of God, to

[u] Gibbon.

the more holy object of alleviating human misery. In order to re-unite those who had been severed by the cruelty or the covetousness of the conquerors — the husbands from the wives, the parents from their children —he sold all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches of his diocese. Diseases and sicknesses followed this sudden and violent change of life. To mitigate these sufferings he converted two large churches into hospitals, furnished them with beds and mattresses, with a daily allowance of food and medicine. The good bishop himself by night and day accompanied the physicians, visiting every bed, and adding the comforts of tender and affectionate sympathy, and of gentle Christian advice, to the substantial gifts of food and the proper remedies.[x] The aged man wore himself out in these cares. He may have been obnoxious on other accounts to the Arian rulers, and may have escaped the persecutions with which Genseric and the Vandals afterwards afflicted the African Churches by his timely death;[y] but the judgment must be strangely infected with theological hatred which would suppose that his life was endangered by the jealousy of the Arians at these acts of true Christian mercy.[z]

The sudden but brief and transitory effort of the Roman Empire, under Majorian, to arrest its hastening extinction, to resume something of its ancient energy, to mitigate the calamities, and avert the impending disorganization, by wise legislation,[a] by the remission of burthensome taxation, by the restoration of the municipal government in the cities—this last and exhausting paroxysm of strength continued till the close of the Pontificate of Leo. But it was too late; wisdom and virtue, at certain periods, are as fatal to those at the head of affairs, as improvidence and vice. He that would stem a torrent at its fall is swept away. Majorian perished through a lawless conspiracy, as though he had been the

[x] Gibbon well describes this.

[y] Victor Vit. de Persecut. Vandal.

[z] This is the charitable conclusion of Baronius: "Quo livore Ariani succensi, dolis eum quam plurimis voluerunt sæpiùs enecare. Quod, credo, prævidens Dominus, passerem suum de manibus accipitium voluit liberare."—Annal. sub ann. 455.

[a] Compare the laws of Majorian at the end of the Codex Theodosianus.

worst of tyrants. The last of the Roman Emperors who showed anything of the Roman in his character, and the Pontiff who, in a truly Roman spirit, chiefly founded her spiritual empire, were coincident in the period of their death.[b] Majorian died in the year 461, leaving the affairs of Rome and the still subject provinces in irrecoverable anarchy. One or two obscure names fill up the barren annals, till the Western Empire expired in the person of Augustulus. Leo died in the same year, leaving a regular succession of Pontiffs, who gradually rose to increasing temporal influence, which, nevertheless, was entirely subordinate to the barbarian kings of Italy, the Herulian and the Ostro-Gothic line, till, after the re-conquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperor, and the gradual abandonment of Justinian's conquests by his feebler successors, the Popes became great temporal potentates.

Latin Christianity, at the close of the fourth, and during the first decennial period of the fifth century, had produced three of her great Fathers—the founders of her doctrinal and disciplinarian system—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine; Jerome, if not the father, the faithful and zealous guardian of her young monasticism, Ambrose of her sacerdotal authority, Augustine of her theology.

Before the middle of the fifth century, the two great founders of the Popedom, Innocent I. and Leo I., (singularly enough, each contemporary with one of the sieges and sacks of Imperial Rome by Teutonic barbarians,) had laid deep the groundwork for the Western spiritual monarchy of Rome. That monarchy must await the close of the sixth century to behold her fourth Father, the author, if we may so speak, of her popular religion, and the third great founder of the Papal authority, not only over the minds, but over the hearts of men—Gregory the Great.

[b] Leo was still occupied by the disputes in the East, which followed the condemnation of Eutychianism by the Council of Chalcedon, but this subject will be continuously treated in the following Book.

BOOK III.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA.		PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH.		PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		458. Gennadius.	471					458. Anastasius.	478
461. Hilarius.	468			460. Sotaficiphus.	482	460. Martyrius, resigned.	471		
				T. Alturus.	477				
468. Simplicius.	483								
		471. Acacius.	489			471. Peter the Fuller, deposed.	471		
						471. Julian.	475		
						475. Peter the Fuller, again deposed.	478		
						478. John Codonatus, deposed.	478	478. Martyrius.	486
						478. Stephen II.	481		
						481. Stephen III.	482		
				482. John Talaias, deposed.	482	482. Calandion, deposed.	485		
483. Felix III.	492			482. Peter Monagus.	490	485. Peter the Fuller.	489		
						488. Palladius.	490	486. Sallustius.	494
		489. Fravitta.	490						
		490. Euphemius, deposed.	495	490. Athanasius II.	496				
492. Gelasius I.	496								
								491. Elias, deposed.	513
		495. Macedonius II., deposed.	511						
496. Anastasius II.	498.			496. Johannes Ellomala.	505	498. Flavianus, deposed.	511		
498. Symmachus.	514								
498. Laurentius, antipope.	505			505. Johannes Niceota.	517				
		511. Timotheus.	517			511. Severus, deposed.	518		
514. Hormisdas.	523							513. John III.	524
		517. John the Cappadocian.	520	517. Dioscorus II.	519				
						519. Paul, abdicated.	521		
		520. Epiphanius.	535	519. Timotheus III.	537	521. Euphrasius.	527		
523. John I.	526							524. Peter.	544
526. Felix IV.	530								
530. Dioscorus, antipope.						527. Ephrem.	545		
532. John II. (Mercurius).	535								
535. Agapetus I.	536	535. Anthimus, deposed.	536						
536. Silverius.	537	536. Menas.	552						
537. Vigilius.	555			537. Gazanus, deposed.	537				
				537. Theodosius, deposed.	538				
				538. Paul, deposed.	541				
				541. Zoilus, deposed.	551				
		552. Eutychius, deposed.	565	551. Apollinaris.	569	545. Domnus III.	550	544. Eustochius, deposed.	563
555. Pelagius I.	560								
				SCHISM.		550. Anastasius I. deposed.	559		
560. John III.	573			*Catholic.*				563. Macarius.	574
		563. John Scolasticus.	577	569. John IV.	579	569. Gregory, abdicated.	593	574. John IV.	594
574. Benedict I.	578			580. Eulogius.	607				
578. Pelagius II.	590	577. Eutychius restored.	582	*Jacobite.*					
		582. John the Faster.	595	569. Damianus.	605	593. Anastasius II. again.	599	594. Amos.	601
590. Gregory I.	604					599. Anastasius II.	610		
		595. Cyriac.	606					601. Isaac.	609

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		WESTERN EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANKS.		VISIGOTHIC KINGS IN SPAIN.		VANDAL KINGS IN AFRICA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
457. Leo I.	474							428. Genseric.	476
		461. Severus.	464						
		464. Vacant.	466			466. Euric.	484		
		467. Anthemius.	471						
		472. Olybrius.							
474. Leo II.	491	Glycerius.							
Zeno.		Nepos.							
Basiliscus.		Augustulus.	476					476. Hunneric.	484
		Kings of Italy.		481. Clovis.	510	——			
		476. Odoacer the Herulian.	493	Kingdom divided.		484. Alaric II.	507	484. Gondebald.	495
				510. Descendants of Clovis.					
491. Anastasius I.	518								
		493. Theodoric the Ostrogoth.	526	KINGS OF BURGUNDY.				495. Trasimond.	522
				451. Gunderic.	472				
						507. Gesalric.	511		
				472. Gundebald and his brothers.	509	511. Amalaric.	531		
(Vitalianus.)	515								
518. Justin I.	527			509. Sigismond.	524				
								522. Hilderic.	530
				524. Gondemar.	532				
				Conquered by Western Franks.					
								530. Gilimer.	534
527. Justinian.	565							534. Conquered by Justinian.	
		526. Athalaric.	534						
		534. Theodatus.	536			531. Theudes.	548		
		536. Vitiges.	540						
						548. Theodegesild	549		
						549. Agila.	553		
		540. Theodebald.							
		541. Ataric.							
		Totila.	553						
		553. Teia.							
						553. Athanagild.	567		
565. Justin II.	578					567. Liuba.	572		
578. Tiberius.	582					572. Leovigild.	586		
582. Maurice.	602					586. Recared.	600		
602. Phocas.	610								

EASTERN EMPIRE.

534. Narses, Governor. 566.

Exarchs of Ravenna.		*Kings of Lombards.*	
569. Longinus.	584	569. Alboin.	572
584. Smaragdus.	597	572. Cleophis.	574
597. Romanus.	603	574. Dukes rule to	584
603. Callinicus.	603	584. Autharis, king.	590
		590. Agilulf.	616

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

MONOPHYTISM.

Leo the Great had not lived to witness the last feeble agonies of the Western Empire; he escaped the ignominious feeling which must have depressed the spirit of a Roman, at the assumption of the strange title, the King of Italy, by a Barbarian: he was not called upon to render his allegiance, or to acknowledge the title of Odoacer.

The immediate successor of Leo was Hilarius, by birth a Sardinian. As deacon, Hilarius had been the representative of Leo at the Council of Ephesus. His firmness during those stormy debates displays a character unlikely to depart from the lofty pretensions of his predecessor. He re-asserted in the East the unbending orthodoxy of Leo; in the West, he maintained, to the utmost extent, the authority which had been claimed over the churches of Gaul and Spain. Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, on his death-bed, nominated Hermes as successor to his see. This precedent of a bishop making his see, as it were, a subject of testamentary bequest, seemed dangerous, though in this case the lawful assent had been obtained from the clergy and the people. Hilarius, at the head of a synod in Rome, condemned the practice, but for the sentence of degradation substituted the lesser punishment, the deprivation of the right to confer ordination. In another dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the Metropolitans of Arles and Vienne over the Bishop of Die, the successor of St. Peter at least confirms, if he does not ground his whole ecclesiastical authority on the decrees of Christian Emperors. The Imperial sanction was wanting to ratify the edicts of the

Nov. 19, 461. Hilarius.

Nov. 3, 462.

Feb. 24, 464.

Apostolic See.[a] The bishops of the province of Tarragona addressed Pope Hilarius in humbler language, and were treated, therefore, in a loftier tone of dictation.

The only act of Hilarius which mingles him up with the temporal affairs of the age, is his solemn rebuke of the Emperor Anthemius, the sovereign who had been sent from Constantinople to rule the West, for presuming to introduce those maxims of toleration, to which his father-in-law, Marcian, had compelled unruly Constantinople; and even to look with favour on the few surviving partisans of the ancient philosophy, if not of the ancient religion. Under the reign of Anthemius, the old heathen festival, the Lupercalia, was still celebrated in Rome. The venerable rite which still commemorated at once the genial influences of the opening year, and the birth of Rome from the she-wolf which nursed her twin founders, was but slightly disguised to the worshipping Christians.[b]

Sept. 467.

It was Simplicius, the successor of Hilarius, born at Tibur, who beheld the sceptre wrested from the helpless hand of Augustulus, and heard the demand of the allegiance of Italy from Odoacer, a barbarian of uncertain race. The Papal Epistles dwell only on the polemic controversies of the day, on questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or ceremonial discipline: they rarely notice, even incidentally, the great changes in the civil society around them. We endeavour in vain to find any expression or intimation of the feelings excited in a Roman of the high station and influence of the Pope, at the total extinction of that sovereignty which had governed the world for centuries, and from which the Bishop of Rome acknowledged himself to hold to some extent his authority, by whose edicts Christianity had

Feb. 25, 468. Simplicius.

Close of the Western Empire.

[a] "Fratri enim nostro Leontio nihil constituti a sanctæ memoriæ decessore meo potuit abrogari, nihil voluit, quod honori ejus debetur, auferri; quia *Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum* est, ut quidquid ecclesiis earumque rectoribus, pro quiete omnium domini sacerdotum, atque ipsius observantiâ disciplinæ, in auferendis confusionibus apostolicæ sedis antistes suo pronunciasset examine, veneranter accipi, tenaciterque servari, cum suis plebibus caritas vestra cognosceret; nec unquam possent convelli, quæ et sacerdotali ecclesiasticâ præceptione fulcirentur *et regiâ*."—Hilarii Papæ Epist. xi. Labbe, p. 1045.

[b] Compare Gibbon, ch. xxxvi.

become the established religion of the world, to which the orthodox faith looked for its support, by the legal proscription of heretics; which had been at least the civil lawgiver of the Church, and by whose grants she held her vast increasing estates. How far was the conscious possession of a power, which might hereafter sway opinions as widely as the republic or the empire had enforced outward submission, and by force of arms had quelled every thought of resistance, accepted as a consolation for the departed name of sovereignty? How far did Roman pride take refuge under the pretensions of her Bishop to be the head of Christendom, from the degradation of a foreign and barbarian yoke? Christendom, from all her monuments and records, might seem to have formed a world of her own. Of the fall of Augustulus, of the rise of Odoacer, we hear not a word. Even in the midst of this extraordinary revolution, the active energy of the Popes seems concentered on the East. The Bishop of Rome is busy in Constantinople, opposing the intrigues of Timotheus Ailurus, the Bishop of Alexandria, and jealously watching the ambition of Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, a more formidable enemy than Odoacer, as threatening the religious supremacy of Rome.[c] He takes deep interest in the changes on the throne of the East, congratulates the Emperor Zeno on his restoration, but it is because Zeno is an enemy to the Eutychian heretics, because he rises on the ruins of Basiliscus, the patron of the Monophysite faction.

For while the West, partly from her want of interest in these questions, partly from the unsettled state of public affairs, from the breaking up of Attila's kingdom, the Vandal invasion of Italy, the Visigothic conquests in Gaul and Spain, and the final extinction of the empire, reposed, as to its religious belief, under the paternal sway of Pope Leo and his successors, the distracted East, in all its great capitals, was still agitated with strife, that strife perpetually breaking out into violence and bloodshed. The Council of Chalcedon had commanded, had defined the orthodox creed in vain.

Church in the East.

[c] Simplicii Epist. p. 1078.

Everywhere its decrees were received or rejected, according to the dominant party in each city, and the opinions of the reigning Emperor. On all the metropolitan thrones there were rival bishops, anathematizing each other, and each supported either by the civil power, by a part of the populace, or by the monks, more fierce and unruly than the unruly populace. For everywhere monks were at the head of the religious revolution which threw off the yoke of the Council of Chalcedon.[d] In Jerusalem Jerusalem. Theodosius, a monk, expelled the rightful prelate, Juvenalis; was consecrated by his party, and maintained himself by acts of violence, pillage, and murder, more like one of the lawless bandits of the country than a Christian bishop. The very scenes of the Saviour's mercies ran with blood shed in his name by his ferocious self- Alexandria. called disciples. In Alexandria the name of Dioscorus (who remained quiet till his death, at Gangra, his place of exile) was still dear to most of the monks, and to many of the people, who asserted the champion of orthodox belief and Alexandrian dignity to have been sacrificed to the *Nestorian* Council of Chalcedon. A prelate named Proterius had been appointed, in the triumph of that Council, to the vacant see. The bold wit of the Alexandrian populace had always delighted in affixing nick-names upon the rulers and kings of Egypt; in their strong religious animosity, they scrupled not to profane their holy bishops with equally irreverent appellations. Timotheus, a monk, called Ailurus, the Weasel, perhaps because he was said to have slunk by night to the secret meetings of the rabble, or because he stole into A.D. 457. the bishopric of another, was consecrated by the anti-Chalcedonian faction, as a rival metropolitan. We are impatient of these dreary and intricate feuds. That of Alexandria ended it must not be said, for it might seem interminable, but came to a crisis in the horrible assassi-

[d] Leonis Epist. cix. a cxxiv.; Marciani Epist. ad calc. Conc. Chalced.; Evagrius, II, 5. The latter writer says the difference between the two parties was between the two prepositions ἐν and ἐξ. Leo makes a remarkable admission. His words might have been misunderstood by those who "non valentes in Græcum aptè et propriè Latina transferre, cum in rebus subtilibus et difficilibus explicandis, vix sibi etiam in suâ linguâ disputator quisque sufficiat."

nation of Proterius. So little had centuries of Christianity tamed the savage populace of this great city, that the Bishop was not only murdered in the baptistery, but his body treated with shameless indignity, and other enormities perpetrated, which might have appalled a cannibal.[e] Timotheus, however, is acquitted as to the guilt of participation in these monstrous crimes. But the Weasel did not assume the throne of Alexandria without a rival. Another Timotheus, called Solofaciolus, was set up (Timotheus the Weasel having been banished on the authority of the Emperor Leo), after no long interval, by the Chalcedonian party.[f]

A.D. 460.

At Antioch, some years later, a third monk, Peter, called from his humble birth and occupation the Fuller,[g] with the apparent countenance of Zeno, the Emperor Leo's son-in-law, whom he had accompanied during his wars in the East, began to intrigue with the discontented party in that city. He led a procession, chiefly of monastics, through the streets, which added to the "Thrice Holy" in the hymn, "who was crucified for us." In a short time Peter succeeded in expelling the Bishop Martyrius, who voluntarily abdicated his see.

Antioch.

Barsumas, the notorious leader of the monks in Constantinople, who had been driven from that city by the Council of Chalcedon, was not inactive during his exile. Throughout Syria he spread the charge of Nestorianism against the Council, and exasperated men's minds against the prelates of that party. On one religious subject alone the conflicting East maintained its perfect unity, in the reverence, it may be said the worship, of the Hermit on the Pillar. Simeon Stylites had been observed by his faithful disciple to have remained motionless for three days in the same attitude of prayer. Not once had he stretched out his arms in the form of the cross; not once had he bowed his forehead till it touched his feet (a holy

[e] καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀπογεύσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θῆρας φειδόμενοι ἐκείνου, ὃν ἔχειν μεσίτην θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔναγχος ἐνομίσθησαν.—Evagrius, II, 9, quoting the letter of the Bishops and Clergy to the Emperor Leo.

[f] Timotheus was allowed to go to Constantinople to plead his cause; thence he was dismissed into banishment.—S. Leon. Epist. ad Gennadium et ad Leonem Imper.

[g] The history of Peter the Fuller is related differently; the time of his invasion of the church of Antioch is not quite certain.

exploit, which his wondering admirers had seen him perform twelve hundred and forty-four times, and then lost their reckoning). The watchful disciple climbed the pillar; a rich odour saluted his nostrils; the saint was dead. The news reached Antioch. Ardaburius, general of the forces in the East, hastened to send a guard of honour, lest the neighbouring cities should seize—perhaps meet in desperate warfare for—the treasure of his body. Antioch, now one in heart and soul, sent out her Patriarch, with three other bishops, to lead the funeral procession. The body was borne on mules for three hundred stadia; a deaf and dumb man touched the bier, he burst out into a cry of gratulation. The whole city, with torches and hymns, followed the body. The Emperor Leo implored Antioch to yield to him the inestimable deposit. The Emperor implored in vain. Antioch, so long as she possessed the remains of Simeon, might defy all her enemies. In the same year, when Antioch thus honoured the funeral rites of him whom she esteemed the greatest of mankind, Rome was lamenting in deep and manly sorrow her Pontiff, Leo. Contrast Simeon Stylites with one Emperor crouching at the foot of his pillar, and receiving his dull, incoherent words as an oracle, with another, a man of higher character, supplicating for the possession of his remains, and Pope Leo on his throne in Rome, and in the camp of Attila. Such were then Greek and Latin Christianity. Nor was the lineage of the Holy Simeon broken or contested. The sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, the throne of the East, might be the cause of long and bloody conflict. The hermit Daniel mounted his pillar at Anaplus, near the mouth of the Euxine: in that cold and stormy climate, his body, instead of being burned up with heat, was rigid with frost. But he became at once the legitimate, acknowledged successor of Simeon, the Prophet, the oracle of Constantinople. Once he condescended to appear in the streets of Constantinople; his presence decided the fate of the Empire.[h]

[h] On Simeon, Antonii vit. S. S. Theodoret Lect., Evagr. i. 13; on Daniel vit. Dan. Theodoret.

The religious affairs in the East were indissolubly blended with the political revolutions, to which the religious factions added their weight, and unquestionably did not mitigate the animosity. These revolutions were frequent and violent. Leo the Thracian, the successor of Marcian, throughout his long reign, adhered firmly to the Council of Chalcedon. Towards the close of his reign the treacherous murder of Aspar the Patrician, and his son Ardaburius, to whom Leo had owed his throne; the violation of the Imperial word, solemnly given in order to lure Aspar from the sanctuary to which he had fled (the inviolability of the right of sanctuary Leo had just established by a statute); the same contempt of the laws of hospitality (the murder took place at a banquet in the Imperial palace, to which he had invited Aspar and his son), all this execrable perfidy was vindicated to a large part of his subjects, because Aspar was an Arian.[i] The Eastern world was in danger of falling under the sway of the Cæsar Ardaburius, who was either an open Arian, or but a recent and suspicious convert. This was in itself enough to convict him and his partisans of treasonable designs, and to justify any measures which might avert the danger from the Empire. During the whole reign of Leo, Eutychianism had been repressed by the known orthodoxy of the Emperor.[k] Timotheus the Weasel had been permitted, as has been said, through the weak and suspicious favour of Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople, to visit the court, but he had been repelled and sent into exile by the severe Emperor. But with the exception of the first disturbances excited at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, the reign of Leo the Thracian was one of comparative religious peace. Eutychianism hid its head in the sullen silence of the monasteries. With the contested empire, on the death of Leo, the religious contests broke out in new fury. Zeno, who had married Leo's daughter, Ariadne, was driven from the throne

Revolutions in Constantinople. From A.D. 457 to 474.

Death of Marcian.

Emperor Leo.

Zeno expelled by Basiliscus. A.D. 476.

[i] Niceph. xv. 27.

[k] A law of Leo betrays the fears of the government of these monkish factions: "Qui in monasteriis agunt, ne potestatem habeant a monasteriis exeundi." The force of law was necessary to compel these disciples of Paul and Antony to be what they had taken vows to be.

by Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, the widow of Leo. With Basiliscus, the anti-Chalcedonian party rose to power. An Imperial encyclic letter branded with an anathema the whole proceedings at Chalcedon, and the letter of Pope Leo, as tainted with Nestorianism. Everywhere the Eutychian bishops seized upon the sees, and expelled the rightful prelates. Peter the Fuller, who had for a time been excluded, re-ascended the throne of Antioch. Paul resumed that of Ephesus. Anastasius of Jerusalem rendered his allegiance. Timotheus the Weasel came from his exile to Constantinople, and ruled the Emperor Basiliscus with unrivalled sway.[m] Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, was a man of great ability. He beheld the unwelcome presence, the increasing influence of the rival Patriarch of Alexandria, with jealous suspicion, and refused to admit him to the communion of the Church. Fierce struggles for power distracted Constantinople.[n] On one side were the Eutychian monks; on the other, the Bishop Acacius and a large part of the populace and of the monks of Constantinople, for fierce bands of monks now appeared on either side. But his most powerful supporter was the Hermit Daniel, who descended from the pillar, where he had received the suppliant visits of the former Emperor, to take part in these tumults, that pillar which more sober Christians might almost have mounted in order to rise above the turbid atmosphere of strife. With this potent ally the Bishop of Constantinople (probably indeed supported by the strong faction of the expelled Zeno) waged an equal war against the Emperor. Ere long the strange spectacle was presented of a Roman Emperor flying before a naked hermit, who had lost the use of his legs by standing for sixteen years on his column. Basiliscus too late revoked his encyclic

[m] See the triumphant reception of Timotheus in Constantinople, Evagr. iii. 4.

[n] The language of the Pope Simplicius shows the manner in which the hostile parties wrote of each other: "Comperi Timotheum parricidam, qui Ægyptiacæ pridem vastator Ecclesiæ, in morem Cain . . . ejectus a facie Dei, hoc est Ecclesiæ dignitate seclusus." . . . He then describes his resumption of the Alexandrian See: "Quo procul dubio Cain ipso longè detestabilior approbatur; ille siquidem a perpetrato semel facinore damnatus abstinuit, hic profecit ad crimina majora post pœnam."—Simplic. Epist. Labbe, 1070.

letter. He fell, and Zeno resumed the power. The tide turned against the Monophysite or anti-Chalcedonian party. But the rest, though some bishops hastened to make their peace with the Emperor and with Acacius, contended obstinately against the stream. Stephanus, the Bishop of Antioch, was murdered in the church by the partisans of Peter the Fuller. Timotheus the Weasel, spared from all extreme chastisement on account of his age, died; but in his place arose another monk, Peter, called Mongus, or the Stammerer, and laid claim to the see of Alexandria. Timotheus Solofaciolus, however, under the Imperial authority, resumed the Patriarchate, and endeavoured to reconcile the heretics by Christian gentleness.[o] The Emperor Zeno beheld with commiseration and dismay his distracted empire; he determined, if possible, to assuage the animosities, and to reconcile the hostile factions. After a vain attempt to obtain the opinions of the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries, without assembling a new Council, a measure which experience had shown to exasperate rather than appease the strife, Zeno issued his famous Henoticon, or Edict of Union. This edict was composed, it was believed, if not by Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, under his direction and with his sanction. It aimed not at the reconcilement of the conflicting opinions, but hoped, by avoiding all expressions offensive to either party, to allow them to meet together in Christian amity: as if such terms had not become to both parties an essential part, perhaps the whole, of their Christianity.

Zeno Emperor, A.D. 477.

A.D. 482. Henoticon of Zeno.

The immediate effects of the Henoticon in the East might seem to encourage the fond hope of success. The feud between the rival Churches of Constantinople and Alexandria was for a time appeased. Acacius and Peter the Stammerer recognised their mutual claims to Christian communion. Calendion, the Chalcedonian Bishop of Antioch, had been banished to the African Oasis. Peter the Fuller had resumed the throne. Peter acceded

[o] Liberatus says that the heretics used to cry out as he passed, "Though we do not communicate with you, yet we love you."—Breviar. Baronius is indignant at this "nimia indulgentia" of the bishop (sub ann. 478).

to the Henoticon; and these three Patriarchal churches commended the Imperial scheme of union to the Eastern world.[p]

It was but a transient lull of peace. The Henoticon, without reconciling the two original conflicting parties, only gave rise to a third: in Alexandria the two factions severed into three. One half of the Eutychian or anti-Chalcedonian party adhered to Peter the Stammerer; the other indignantly repudiated what they called the base concession of Peter; they were named the Acephali, without a head, as setting up no third prelate. The strong Chalcedonian party had nominated, as successor to the mild Timotheus Solofaciolus, a man of a different character. John Talajas, while at Constantinople, had been compelled by the provident, but vain precaution, no doubt, of Acacius, to pledge himself not to aspire to the see of Alexandria.[q] The object of Acacius was to unite the Alexandrian Church under Peter the Stammerer, beneath the broad comprehension of the Henoticon. No sooner was Timotheus dead, and John Talajas safe at Alexandria, than he accepted the succession of Timotheus. On the union between Acacius and Peter the Stammerer, John Talajas fled to Rome; he was welcomed as a second Athanasius.

Alexandria. Three parties. John Talajas.

For now a question had arisen, which involved the Bishops of Rome, not merely as dignified arbiters on a high and profound metaphysical question of the faith, but, vital to their power and dignity, plunged them into the strife as ardent and implacable combatants. The Roman Pontiffs had already, at least from the time of Innocent I., asserted their inalienable supremacy on purely religious grounds, as successors of St. Peter. If, as in the recent act of Hilarius, they had appealed to the laws of the empire, as confirmatory of that supremacy, it was to enforce more ready and implicit obedience. But with the world at large the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome rested solely on her civil supremacy. The Pope was head of Christendom as Bishop of the first city in the

Question of Roman supremacy.

[p] Evagrius, iii. 26.

[q] Evagrius, on the authority of Zacharias.

world. Already Constantinople had put forth claims to co-equal ecclesiastical, as being now of co-equal temporal dignity. This claim had been ratified by the great Œcumenic Council of Chalcedon,—that Council which had established the inflexible line of orthodoxy between the divergent heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. This was but the supplementary act, it was asserted, of a small and factious minority, who had lingered behind the rest; but, it appeared upon the records, it boasted the authority of the unanimous Council.[r] The ambition of Acacius, now, under Zeno, sole and undisputed Bishop of Constantinople, was equal to his ability. He seemed watching the gradual fall of the Western Empire, the degradation of Rome from the capital of the world, which would leave Constantinople no longer the new, the second, rather the only Rome upon earth. The West, in the person of Anthemius, had received an emperor appointed by Constantinople; the Western Empire at one moment seemed disposed to become a province of the East. Acacius had already obtained from the Emperor (we must reascend in the course of our history to connect the East with the West), Leo the Thracian, who had ruled between Marcian and Zeno, a decree confirming to the utmost all the privileges of a Patriarchate claimed by Constantinople. In that edict Constantinople assumed the significant and threatening title of "Mother of all Christians and of the orthodox Religion." The Pope Simplicius had protested against this usurpation, but his protest is lost. The aspiring views of Acacius were interrupted for a short time by his fall under the Emperor Basiliscus; but his triumph (an unwonted triumph of a Bishop of Constantinople over an Emperor), his unbounded favour with Zeno, might warrant the loftiest expectations. As the acknowledged and victorious champion of orthodoxy, Acacius could now take the high position of a mediator. In the Henoticon Zeno the Emperor spoke his language, and in that edict appeared a manifest desire to assuage the discords of the East, and to combine the Churches in one harmonious confederacy. On the murder of Stephanus of Antioch, Acacius had consecrated

[r] Compare Baronius sub ann. 472.

his successor; a step against which the Pope Simplicius, who was watching all his actions, sent a strong remonstrance. Before the publication of the Henoticon, the Western Empire had departed from Rome; but though her political supremacy, even her political independence was lost, she would not tamely abandon her spiritual dignity. For Rome, in the utmost assertion of her power against the Bishop of Constantinople, might depend on the support of above half the East; of all who were discontented with the Henoticon; and who, in the absorbing ardour of the strife, would not care on what terms they obtained the alliance of the Bishop of Rome, so that alliance enabled them to triumph over their adversaries. The dissatisfaction with the Henoticon comprehended totally opposite factions,—the followers of Nestorius and of Eutyches, who were impartially condemned on all sides;—and the ecclesiastics, who considered it an act of presumption in the Emperor to assume the right of legislating in spiritual matters, a right complacently admitted when ratifying or compulsorily enforcing ecclesiastical decrees, and usually adopted without scruple on other occasions by the party with which the Court happened to side. But the strength of the malcontents was the high Chalcedonian or orthodox party, who condemned the Henoticon as tainted with Eutychianism, and denounced Acacius as holding communion with Eutychian Prelates, and therefore himself justly suspected of leaning to that heresy. In Constantinople the more formidable of the monks were of this party; the Bishops of Rome addressed more than once the clergy and the archimandrites of that city, as though assured of their sympathy against the Bishop and the Emperor. John Talajas, the exiled Bishop of Alexandria, filled Rome with his clamours. The Pope Simplicius addressed a remonstrance to Acacius, to which Acacius, who to former letters of the Bishop of Rome had condescended no answer, coldly replied that he knew nothing of such a Bishop of Alexandria; that he was in communion with the rightful Bishop, Peter Mongus, who, like a loyal subject, had subscribed the Emperor's Edict of Union.[8]

A.D. 479. Remonstrance of Simplicius.

Factions in the East.

[8] Liberat. Breviar.

At this juncture died Pope Simplicius. On the vacancy of the see occurred a singular scene. The clergy were assembled in St. Peter's. In the midst of them stood up Basilius, the Patrician and Prefect of Rome, acting as Vicegerent of Odoacer, the barbarian King. He appeared by the command of his master, and by the admonition of the deceased Simplicius, to take care that the peace of the city was not disturbed by any sedition or tumult during the election. That election could not take place without the sanction of his Sovereign. He proceeded, as the Protector of the Church from loss and injury by Churchmen, to proclaim the following edict: "That no one, under the penalty of anathema, should alienate any farm, buildings, or ornaments of the Churches; that such alienation by any Bishop present or future was null and void." So important did this precedent appear, so dangerous in the hands of those schismatics who would even in those days limit the sacerdotal power, that nearly twenty years after, a fortunate occasion was seized by the Pope Symmachus to annul this decree. In a synod of Bishops at Rome, the edict was rehearsed, interrupted by protests of the Bishops at this presumptuous interference of the laity with affairs of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[t] The authenticity of the decree was not called in question; it was declared invalid, as being contrary to the usages of the Fathers, enacted on lay authority, and as not ratified by the signature of any Bishop at Rome. The same Council, however, acknowledged its wisdom by re-enacting its ordinance against the alienation of Church property.

March, A.D. 483. Death of Simplicius.

Decree of Odoacer.

Felix, by birth a Roman, succeeded to the vacant see. He inherited the views and passions, as well as the throne of Simplicius and his strife with the East. His first act was an indignant rejection of the Henoticon, as an insult to the Council of Chalcedon; as an audacious act of the Emperor Zeno, who dared to dictate articles of faith; as a seed-plot of impiety.[u] He anathematized all the Bishops who had subscribed this edict. At the head of a Roman synod, Felix addressed a

Felix III. Pope. A.D. 483.

[t] Synodus Romana. Labbe, sub ann. 502. [u] Theodorus Lector.

strong admonitory letter to Acacius of Constantinople, and another, in a more persuasive tone, to the Emperor Zeno. These letters were sent into the East by two Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, as Legates of Pope Felix. To Peter the Fuller was directed another letter, arraigning him as involved in every heresy which had ever afflicted the Church, or with something worse than the worst.[x] Whether he awaited any reply from the refractory Bishop or not seems doubtful; but he proceeded to fulminate a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Peter in his own name, and to assume that this sentence would be ratified by Acacius of Constantinople.

Excommunicates Peter the Fuller.

The Legate Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, were attacked at Abydus, and their papers seized. At Constantinople they were compelled, bribed, or betrayed into communion with Peter the Stammerer; at least they were present, and without protest, at the divine service when the name of Peter was read in the diptychs as lawful Bishop of Alexandria. On their return they were branded as traitors by Felix at the head of a synod at Rome, and degraded from their episcopal office. Felix proceeded (his tardiness had been sharply rebuked by the monks of Constantinople, especially the sleepless monks,[y] whose archimandrite Cyril and his whole brotherhood were the implacable enemies of Acacius) to issue the sentence of excommunication against the Bishop of Constantinople. The sentence was pronounced, not on account of heresy, but of obstinate communion with heretics

Excommunicates Acacius of Constantinople.

[x] The introduction by Peter the Fuller of "who wast crucified for us," after the angelic hymn, the Holy, Holy, Holy, struck the ears of the orthodox with horror. Felix relates with all the earnestness of faith, and with all the authority of his position, the miraculous origin of this hymn in its simple form. During an earthquake at Constantinople, while the whole people were praying in the open air, an infant was visibly rapt to heaven, in the sight of the whole assembly and of the Bishop Proclus; and after staying there an hour, descended back to the earth, and informed the people that he had heard the whole host of angels singing those words. It was not merely that the words, added at Antioch, left it doubtful which of the Persons of the Trinity was crucified for us; the term was equally impious as regarded any one of those consubstantial, uncreated, invisible, impassible Beings. *καθὸ τοίνυν ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἐστι τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοούσιος, καὶ ἐξ τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου τριάδος, ἄκτιστος καὶ ἀθέατος, ἐμεμενήκει ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀθάνατος. Τὸ οὖν ἄκτιστον καὶ ἀθάνατον τῇ κτίσει μὴ σύνταττε, καὶ τοῦ τῆς πολυθεΐας λόγον μὴ κράτυνε, διὰ τὸ λέγειν τεθνάναι τὸν ἕνα τῆς τριάδος.*—Epist. Felic. III. ad Petr. Full., Labbe, 1058.

[y] *ἀκοίμητοι.*

—with Peter of Alexandria, who had been condemned by July 28, 484. Pope Simplicius for his violent conduct to the Papal Legates, his contemptuous refusal to admit the third ambassador, Felix the Defensor, to his presence. Acacius was declared to be deprived, not merely of his episcopal, but of his priestly honours, separated from the communion of the faithful; and this anathema, an unusual form, was declared irrepealable by any power.[z] But how was this process to be served on the Bishop of Constantinople? Acacius was strong in the favour of the Emperor Zeno. It is remarkable that, while he thus precipitately proceeds to the last extremity against his rival Bishop, the Emperor is still sacred against the condemnation of the Bishop of Rome. Zeno had issued the Henoticon. Zeno had, by so doing, usurped the power of dictating religious articles to the clergy. Zeno, if he had not ordered, sanctioned all this re-establishment of the Bishops who had not acceded to the Council of Chalcedon; but to Zeno the language of the Pontiff is respectful, and bordering on adulation. The monks, the allies of Felix, were ready to encounter any peril. One of the sleepless fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius, as he was about to officiate in the Church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused; with calm, clear voice, he ordered the name of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out of the roll of bishops in communion with the East. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople.[a]

Aug. 1, A.D. 484. Acacius excommunicates Felix.

The schism divided the Churches of the East and West for nearly forty years, down to the Pontificate of Hormisdas and the empire of Justinian, under whose sway Italy became subject to the Byzantine sovereign. Overtures of reconciliation were made, but Felix at least adhered inflexibly to his demand, that the name of Acacius should be erased from the diptychs. The

Schism of forty years.

[z] "Nunquamque anathematis vinculis eruendus."—Epist. Felic. ad Acacius. Felix, in a subsequent letter to Zeno, maintains this implacable doctrine: "Unde divino judicio nullatenus potuit, etiam cum id mallemus, absolvi."—Epist. xi. Writing to Fravitta, his successor, he intimates that no doubt Acacius has gone, like Judas, to hell.

[a] Julius, the messenger of Felix, quailed before the danger, or was bribed by Byzantine gold.

great Eastern Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, utterly disregarding the anathema of Rome, continued in communion with Acacius and his successors. Acacius, notwithstanding the incitements to spiritual rebellion addressed by the Bishop of Rome to his clergy and to the turbulent monks, maintained his throne till his death.[b]

Acacius (I trace rapidly the history of Eastern Christianity until the reunion with the West) was succeeded by Fravitta or Flavitta, who occupied the throne but for four months.[c] The election then fell on Euphemius.

A.D. 489. Fravitta Bishop of Constantinople. Euphemius.

The Bishops of Constantinople might defy the spiritual thunders of Rome, but though Acacius had once triumphed over an usurping Emperor, in daring to conflict with the established Imperial authority they but betrayed their own weakness. During the reign of the Emperor Anastasius two Bishops of Constantinople having justly or unjustly incurred the Imperial displeasure, were degraded from their sees. The Emperor Anastasius has been handed down to posterity with the praise of profound piety, and the imputation of Eutychianism, Arianism, and even Manicheism. Anastasius ascended the throne, though Euphemius had exerted all his authority to prevent his elevation, through his marriage with the Empress Ariadne. It is said that an old quarrel, while Anastasius was yet in a humbler station, rankled in both their hearts. The Bishop had threatened to shave the head of the domestic of the palace, and expose him as a spectacle to the people. The mother of Anastasius and his mother's brother had been Arians, and Euphemius took care that dark suspicions of Anastasius on this vital point should be disseminated in the empire. But Anastasius, in the conscientious conviction of his own orthodoxy, and that virtue which had called forth the popular acclamation "Reign as you have lived," dared to enforce despotic toleration. The East was now divided into four religious parties.

[b] Felicis Epist. x. xi.: ad Clerum et Plebem Constantin. et ad Monachos Constantin. et Bithyniæ.

[c] Felix addressed a letter to Fravitta adjuring him to abandon the cause of Acacius and Peter, and unite with Rome.

Four parties in the East.

1. Those who, with the Roman Pontiff and the monks of Constantinople, held inflexibly to the Council of Chalcedon, and demanded the distinct recognition of its doctrines. These were not content with the anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus: they insisted on including under the malediction Acacius and Peter the Stammerer.[d] 2. Those who, holding the tenets of Chalcedon, had yet subscribed the Henoticon, and for the sake of peace would not compel the acceptance of the Chalcedonian decrees. Among these were Euphemius of Constantinople before the accession of Anastasius, and at first his successor Macedonius, and the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem; all the four great Prelates had subscribed the Henoticon. 3. Those who subscribed the Henoticon, and abhorred the decrees of Chalcedon; these were chiefly the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya. 4. The Acephali, the Eutychian party, who held the Council of Chalcedon to be a Nestorian conclave, and cherished the memory of Dioscorus and of Eutyches. Anastasius issued his mandate, that no bishop should compel a reluctant people to adhere to the Council of Chalcedon; no bishop should compel a people which adhered to the Council of Chalcedon to abandon its principles. Many who infringed on this law of Imperial charity were deposed with impartial severity. Euphemius had extorted from the Emperor Anastasius, as a kind of price for his accession, a written asseveration of allegiance to the Council of Chalcedon, and an oath that he would maintain inviolate those articles which he had been with difficulty compelled to surrender. Euphemius, it might seem, as a rebuke against the comprehensive measures of the Emperor, held a synod, in which the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were confirmed. But though this might be among the secret causes, it was not the crime for which Anastasius demanded the degradation of Euphemius.[e]

The Isaurian rebellion disturbed the earlier period of the reign of Anastasius; it lasted for five years. The Bishop Euphemius tampered in treasonable proceedings;

[d] Evagrius, iii. 31.

[e] Evagrius, Theophanes, p. 117. Victor, xvi. xvii.

he was accused of traitorous correspondence, or at least of betraying the secrets of the state to these formidable rebels. The Emperor summoned a Council; Euphemius was deposed, sent into exile, and died in obscurity: he has left a doubtful fame. The Latin writers hesitate whether he was a martyr or a heretic.[f] A.D. 495.

Macedonius was promoted to the vacant See.[g] Macedonius, a man of gentle but too flexible disposition, began his prelacy by an act of unusual courtesy to his fallen predecessor. He performed the act of degradation with forbearance. Before he *saluted* him in the Baptistery, he took off the episcopal habiliment, and appeared in the dress of a Priest; he supplied the exile with money, borrowed money, for his immediate use. Macedonius subscribed the Henoticon, and still the four great Patriarchates were held in Christian fellowship by that bond of union. At the command of the Emperor, Macedonius undertook the hopeless task of reconciling the four great Monasteries, among them that of the Akoimetoi, and the female convent then presided over by Matrona, with the communion of the Church under the Henoticon. The inflexible monks would give up no letter of the Council of Chalcedon—they declared themselves prepared rather to suffer exile.[h] Matrona, a woman of the austerest life, endured with patience, which wrought strongly on men's minds, acts of violence used by a Deacon to compel her to submission. The mild Macedonius, instead of converting them, was himself overawed by their rigour into a strong partisan of the Council of Chalcedon; he inclined to make overtures to the Bishop of Rome, Gelasius I.: but Anastasius prohibited such proceedings; he had declared himself resolved against all innovations. Macedonius Bishop of Constantinople.

The Eastern wars occupied for some years the mind of Anastasius. In the mean time the compressed fires of religious discord were struggling to burst forth and convulse the realm. Macedonius had hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of the Council of Chalcedon.

[f] Walch, p. 974.
[g] Theophanes.
[h] Theophanes, Chronog., ed. Bekker, i. 219.

John Nicetas had ascended the throne of Alexandria: he subscribed the Henoticon, but declared that it was an insufficient exposition of the true doctrine, as not explicitly condemning the Council of Chalcedon. Flavianus filled the See of Antioch—Elias that of Jerusalem.

Confusion at Antioch.

Elias was disposed to reject the Council of Chalcedon; Flavianus was inclined to rest on the neutral ground of the Henoticon. But the Monophysite party in Syria, which seemed greatly reduced in numbers, and content to seclude itself within the peaceful monasteries, suddenly having found a bold and reckless leader, burst out in fierce insurrection. Xenaias,[i] or Philoxenus, Bishop of Hierapolis, began to agitate the whole region by accusing Flavianus as a Nestorian. Flavianus, to exculpate himself, issued his anathema against Nestorius and his opinions. Xenaias imperiously demanded the anathema, not of Nestorius alone, but of Ibas, Theodoret of Cyrus, and a host of other bishops, who from time to time had been charged with Nestorianism. Flavianus resisted. But the followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus sprung up on all sides. Eleusinius, a bishop of Cappadocia, and Nicias of the Syrian Laodicea, joined their ranks. Flavianus consented to involve all whom they chose thus to denounce in one sweeping malediction. Xenaias, flushed with his victory, still refused to absolve the timid bishop from the hated name of Nestorian. He required his explicit condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and of all who asserted the two natures in Christ. Flavianus still struggled in the toils of these inexorable polemics, who were resolved to convict him, subscribe what he might, as a secret Nestorian. Swarms of monks crowded from the district of Cynegica, and filling the streets of Antioch, insisted on the direct condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon and the letter of Pope Leo.[k] The people of Antioch rose in defence of their bishop, slew some of the monks, and drove the rest into the Orontes, where many lost their lives. Another party of monks from Cœlesyria, where Flavianus himself had

[i] Xenaias, interpreted by the hostile monks of Jerusalem, "The stranger to Catholic doctrine."

[k] Evagrius, iii. 31, 32.

dwelt in the convent of Talmognon, hastened to form a guard for his person.

The Emperor Anastasius in the mean time on his return from the East found Macedonius, instead of a A.D. 505-6. mild assertor of the Henoticon, at the head of one, and that the most dangerous and violent of the religious factions. Rumours were industriously spread abroad, that the Emperor's secret Manicheism had been confirmed in the East. A Persian painter had been employed in one of the palaces, and had covered the walls, not with the orthodox human forms worshipped by the Church, but with the mysterious and symbolic figures of the Manichean heresy. Anastasius, insulted by the fanatic populace, was escorted to the Council and to the churches by the Prefect at the head of a strong guard. Anastasius was driven by degrees (an Emperor of his commanding character should not have been driven) to favour the opposing party. John, Patriarch of Alexandria, sent to offer, it is A.D. 510. said, two hundred pounds of gold, as a tribute, a subsidy, or a bribe, to induce the Emperor to abrogate the Council of Chalcedon. John, however, publicly maintained the neutrality of the Henoticon, neither receiving nor repudiating the Council. His legates were received with honour. Anastasius compelled the Bishop Macedonius to admit them to communion. Xenaias, the persecutor of Flavianus, was likewise received with honour. Worse than all, two hundred Eastern monks, headed by Severus, were permitted to land in Constantinople: they here found an honourable reception. Other monks of the opposite faction swarmed from Palestine. The two black-cowled armies watched each other for some months, working in secret on their respective partisans.[m] At length they came A.D. 511. to a rupture; and in their strife, which he either dared not, or did not care to control, the throne, the liberty, the life itself of the Emperor were in peril. The Monophysite monks in the church of the Archangel within the palace

[m] Each party of course throws the blame of the insurrection on the other. The later writers, who are all of the orthodox party, ascribe it to the Syrian monks. Evagrius (iii. c. 44) quotes a letter of Severus, written before he was Bishop of Antioch, charging the whole disturbance on Macedonius and the clergy of Constantinople.

broke out after the "Thrice Holy," with the burthen added at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, "who wast crucified for us." The orthodox monks, backed by the rabble of Constantinople, endeavoured to expel them from the church; they were not content with hurling curses against each other, sticks and stones began their work. There was a wild, fierce fray; the divine presence of the Emperor lost its awe; he could not maintain the peace. The Bishop Macedonius either took the lead, or was compelled to lead the tumult. Men, women, children, poured out from all quarters; the monks, with their Archimandrites, at the head of the raging multitude, echoed back their religious war-cry: "It is the day of martyrdom. Let us not desert our spiritual Father. Down with the tyrant! the Manichean! he is unworthy of the throne." The gates of the palace were barred against the furious mob; the imperial galleys were manned, ready for flight to the Asiatic shore. The Emperor was reduced to the humiliation of receiving the Bishop Macedonius, whom he had prohibited from approaching his presence, as his equal, almost as his master. As Macedonius passed along, the populace hailed him as their beloved father; even the military applauded. Macedonius rebuked the Emperor for his hostility to the Church. Anastasius condescended to dissemble: peace was restored with difficulty. Macedonius seems to have been of feeble character, unfit to conduct this internecine strife between the Patriarchate and the Empire for supreme authority. Enemies would not be wanting, even had the strife not been for religion, to the enemy of the Emperor: and all acts of enmity to the Patriarch, whether sanctioned or not by the Emperor, would be laid to his charge. An accusation of loathsome incontinence was brought forward against the Bishop; he calmly refuted it by proving its impossibility. His life was attempted; he pardoned the assassin. But this Christian gentleness softened into infirmity. One day he weakly subscribed a Creed, in which he recognised only the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople; his silence about those of Ephesus and Chalcedon implied his rejection of their authority. His monkish

Tumults in Constantinople.

masters broke out in furious invectives. The Patriarch stooped to appear before them in the monastery of Saint Dalmatius; and not merely expressed his adhesion to the Council of Chalcedon, he uttered his anathema against all recusants of its decrees. The Emperor had been silently watching his opportunity. The Bishop was seized by night; without tumult, without resistance, he was conveyed to the Asiatic shore, thence into banishment at Euchaita, his predecessor's place of exile. A well-chosen synod of bishops declared the deposition of Macedonius:[n] Timotheus was elected Bishop of Constantinople. Timotheus signed the Henoticon; he went further, he laid his curse on the Council of Chalcedon. Timotheus was acknowledged by Flavianus of Antioch, by John of Alexandria, and by Elias of Jerusalem. But this concession secured not the throne of Flavianus. The Monophysite monk Severus, who had stirred up the populace of Alexandria and of Constantinople to religious riot, had won the favour of Anastasius as acquiescing in the Henoticon, now appeared in Antioch as the rival of Flavianus. Flavianus was deposed, Severus was bishop. He would now no longer keep on the mask; he condemned in the strongest terms the Council of Chalcedon. The monkish party, which had been persecuted by, and in turn persecuted Flavianus, and to which he had in vain made such ignoble concessions, was dominant in Antioch: Severus ruled supreme. At Jerusalem the orthodox were the strongest; and Elias, who would not go all lengths with them, was likewise compelled to abdicate his see. Throughout Asiatic Christendom it was the same wild struggle. Bishops deposed quietly; or, where resistance was made, the two factions fighting in the streets, in the churches: cities, even the holiest places, ran with Christian blood.

A.D. 510. Deposition and exile of Macedonius.

A.D. 513.

In Constantinople it was not the throne of the Bishop, but that of the Emperor, which trembled to its base.

[n] Evagrius intimates that Macedonius was persuaded to a voluntary abdication. According to Theophanes (Edd. Bekker, i. 240) Anastasius endeavoured to gain possession of the original registers of the Council of Chalcedon, to destroy or to corrupt them. Macedonius sealed them up and put them in a place of safety.

Anastasius, who had so nobly and successfully wielded the arms of the Empire against the Persians, found his power in Constantinople, in his Asiatic provinces, in his European dominions, crumbling beneath him. His foes were not on the frontier, they were at the gates of Constantinople, in Constantinople, in his palace. He was now eighty years old. The martial courage which he had displayed in his Eastern campaigns might seem decayed; his aged hand could no longer hold with the same equable firmness the balance of religious neutrality; it may have trembled towards the Monophysite party; he may have brought something of the irritability and obstinacy of age into the contest. The year after the exile of Macedonius, Constantinople, at the instigation of the clergy and the monks, broke out again in religious insurrection. The blue and green factions of the Circus—such is the language of the times—gave place to these more maddening conflicts. The hymn of the Angels in Heaven was the battle-cry on earth; the signal for human bloodshed. Many palaces of the nobles were set on fire; the officers of the crown insulted; pillage, conflagration, outrage, raged through the city. A peasant who had turned monk was torn from the palace of the favourite Syrian minister of Anastasius, Marinus (he was accused of having introduced the profane burthen to the angelic hymn); his head was struck off, carried about on a pole, with shouts, "Behold the enemy of the Trinity."[o] The hoary Emperor appeared in the Circus, and commanded the heralds to announce to the people, that he was prepared to abdicate the Empire, if they could agree in the choice of his successor. The piteous spectacle soothed the fury of the people; they entreated Anastasius to resume the diadem. But the blood of two of his ministers was demanded as a sacrifice to appease their vengeance.[p]

Constantinople again in insurrection.

A.D. 512.

[o] Evagrius, iii. 44.

[p] The Pope Gelasius writes to the Emperor, "You fear the people of Constantinople, who are attached to the name of Acacius; the people of Constantinople have preferred Catholic truth to the cause of their bishops Macedonius (then supposed to be unsound) and Nestorius. You have suppressed their tumults in the games, you will control them if they break out in religious insurrection." A singular testimony to the two great rival causes which roused the mob of Constantinople to mutiny.

But it is not insurrection in Constantinople alone, the empire is in revolt on the question of the two natures in Christ. The first great religious war, alas! for many centuries not the last! emperils the tottering throne of Anastasius. The Thracian Vitalianus is in open rebellion; obtains a great victory over the Imperial general Hypatius; wastes Thrace, depopulates the whole country—the whole realm—up to the gates of Constantinople. He is before the city at the head of 60,000 men. His banner, his war-cry, is that of religious orthodoxy; he proclaims himself the champion, not of an oppressed people, of a nobility indignant at the tyranny of their sovereign, but of the Council of Chalcedon. Cries are heard within the city (not obscurely traced to the clergy and the monks) proclaiming Vitalianus Emperor; and the army of this first religious war in Christendom is composed chiefly of Huns and Barbarians, a great part of them still heathens. But Vitalianus had allies in the West: from some obscure quarrel, or from jealousy of the Emperor of the East, he boasts the alliance of Theodoric, the Arian Ostrogoth; as the champion of orthodoxy he boasts too the countenance of Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome.[q]

Revolt of Vitalianus, A.D. 514.

The grey hairs of Anastasius were again brought down to shame and sorrow; he must stoop to an ignominious peace. If we are to credit the monastic historians, the end aimed at and attained by this insurrection, which had desolated provinces and caused the death of thousands of human beings, was a treaty which promised the re-establishment of Macedonius and Flavianus on the archiepiscopal thrones of Constantinople and Antioch; and the summoning a Council at Heraclea, in which Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome, was to appear by his legates, and no doubt hoped to dictate the decrees of the assembly.

Humiliation of Anastasius.

[q] The accounts of these transactions, and their dates, are confused, almost irreconcilable. According to Evagrius (iii. 43), Vitalianus was defeated in a naval battle, and fled in a single ship: according to Theophanes and others, he dictated terms of peace, the restoration of the bishops, and the Council of Heraclea. These terms Anastasius perfidiously violated, declaring that an emperor was justified, more than justified, in swearing to treaties, and breaking his oath to preserve his power,—ὁ δὲ παράνομος ἀναιδῶς ἔλεγεν νόμον εἶναι κελεύοντα βασιλέα κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπιορκεῖν καὶ ψεύδεσθαι. ταῦτα ὁ παρανομώτατος μανιχαιόφρων.—p. 248. I think, with Gibbon, following Tillemont and older authorities, that there is no doubt of the two insurrections in Constantinople.

The few last inglorious years of the reign of Anastasius, its dark close, his miserable death, his damnation, according to his relentless foes, must be reserved for the period when the Bishop of Rome (Hormisdas) appears in a commanding character in the arena of Constantinople: and if he does not terminate, prepares the termination of the schism of above forty years between Eastern and Western Christianity.

A.D. 514-518.

We turn away with willingness from the dismal and wearisome period, in which, in the East, all that is noble and generous in religious conviction disappears and gives place to dark intrigues and ignorant fury. Men suffer all the degradation and misery, incur all the sin of persecution almost without the lofty motive of honest zeal. It is a time of fierce and busy polemics, without a great writer. The Henoticon is a work of some skill, of some adroitness, in attempting to reconcile, in eluding, evading, theological difficulties; it is subtle to escape subtleties. But there was no vigorous and manly, even if intolerant writer, like Cyril of Alexandria, whom we contemplate with far different estimation in his acts and in his writings.

State of the East.

But that which is the characteristic sign of the times, as a social and political, as well as a religious phenomenon, is the complete dominion assumed by the monks in the East over the public mind, and the depravation of monasticism from its primal principles. Those who had forsaken the world aspire to rule the world. The minds which are to be absolutely estranged from earth mingle in its most furious tumults. Instead of total seclusion from the habits and pursuits of men, the Cœnobites sweep the streets of the great cities in armed bodies, displaying an irregular valour which sometimes puts to shame the languid patriotism of the Imperial soldiery. Even the Eremites, instead of shrouding themselves in the remotest wilderness, and burying themselves in the darkest and most inaccessible caverns, mount their pillars in some conspicuous place, even in some place of public resort. While they seem to despise the earth below, and to enjoy the undisturbed serenity of heaven,

The influence of the monks.

they are not unconscious that they are the oracles as well as the objects of amazement to the admiring multitudes around; that Emperors come to consult them as seers and prophets, as well as infallible interpreters of divine truth. They even descend into the cities to become spiritual demagogues. The monks, in fact, exercise the most complete tyranny, not merely over the laity, but over bishops and patriarchs, whose rule, though nominally subject to it, they throw off whenever it suits their purposes. Those who might seem the least qualified, from their vague and abstract devotion, to decide questions which depended on niceties of language, on the finest rhetorical distinctions, are the dictators of the world. Monks in Alexandria, monks in Antioch, monks in Jerusalem, monks in Constantinople, decide peremptorily on orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The bishops themselves cower before them. Macedonius in Constantinople, Flavianus in Antioch, Elias in Jerusalem, condemn themselves, and abdicate or are driven from their sees. Persecution is universal; persecution by every means of violence and cruelty; the only question is in whose hands is the power to persecute. In Antioch, Xenaias (Philoxenus, a famous name) justifies his insurrection by the persecutions which he has endured; Flavianus bitterly and justly complains of the persecutions of Xenaias. Bloodshed, murder, treachery, assassination, even during the public worship of God,—these are the frightful means by which each party strives to maintain its opinions, and to defeat its adversary. Ecclesiastical and civil authority are alike paralysed by combinations of fanatics ready to suffer or to inflict death, utterly unapproachable by reason. If they had not mingled in the fray, peace might perhaps have been restored with no serious detriment to orthodox doctrine. If in the time of Zeno there had been no monks, no Akoimetoi, in Constantinople; if these fanatics had not been in treasonable correspondence with strangers, and supported by the Bishop of Rome—temperate and orthodox bishops like Macedonius and Flavianus might have allayed the storm. The evil lay partly in the mode of life; the seclusion, which fostered both ignorance and presumption, and magnified insignifi-

cant matters to questions of spiritual life and death; and the strong corporate spirit, which gave a consciousness of strength which bound them together as one man in whatever cause they might espouse. The Emperor might depose a busy and refractory bishop, what could be done with a fraternity of a thousand men? They had already the principle of organisation, union, and mutual confidence, and arms in their hands. They became legions. It is at the head of such an army that Severus, a stranger, makes himself formidable in Constantinople. A more powerful adverse army heads the mob of Constantinople and reduces the Emperor Anastasius to beg his crown, if not his life. Relying on these internal allies in the heart of his enemy's camp, Vitalianus besieges Constantinople, and dictates a capitulation, embodying their demands and those of their acknowledged head, the Bishop of Rome. Alexandria is at the mercy of such hosts, who pour in from the surrounding monasteries on all sides. Even during the last years of Anastasius, at the election of the bishop, another Dioscorus, the chief Imperial officer, is slain in the streets. Hosts of monks encounter in Syria, meet in the field of battle, consider that zeal divine with which they strive, not to instruct and enlighten, but to compel each other to subscribe the same confession, each slaying and dying in unshaken assurance that eternal salvation depended on the proper sense of the words "in" and "out of;" the acceptance or rejection of the Council of Chalcedon, including its dire anathemas.[r] To monasticism may unquestionably be attributed the obstinate continuance, perhaps the fury, of the Monophysite war. We shall hereafter encounter monasticism in the West in another character, as compensating, at least in a great degree, for its usurpation of the dignity of a higher and holier Christianity, by becoming the guardian of what was valuable, the books and arts of the old world; as the missionary of what was holy and Christian in the new civilisation; as

[r] I have incorporated with my own observations many sentences from a passage in a writer of the old German school, Walch, who, having investigated the whole of these transactions with unrivalled industry and candour, and with the almost apathetic impartiality of his school, seems suddenly to break out into something approaching to eloquence. Walch, Ketzer-Geschichte, vol. vii.

the chief maintainer, if not the restorer of agriculture in Italy; as the cultivator of the forests and morasses of the north; as the apostle of the heathens which dwelt beyond the pale of the Roman empire.

We are again in the West, reascending and passing in review Latin Christianity and its primates during the same, by no means a brilliant period: their sometimes enforced or uncongenial, but still ever ready intervention in the affairs of the East, from the time when Pope Felix and Acacius issue their hostile interdicts, and Constantinople and Rome are at open war, more or less violent, during five and thirty years. Return to the West. A.D. 484-519.

Between the pontificate of Felix III. and the rupture with Constantinople (it might seem the implacable estrangement of the East and West) to the accession of Hormisdas, intervened three Popes, Gelasius I., Anastasius I., Symmachus. Gelasius I. March 1, 492.

Gelasius, a Roman, seemed, as a Roman, to assume the plenitude of Roman dignity. From the first, he adhered to all the lofty pretensions of his predecessor, and in his frequent and elaborate writings vindicated all the acts of Felix. He inexorably demanded, as the preliminary to any peaceful treaty, that the name of Acacius should be expunged from the diptychs. No power could now retrieve or rescue Acacius from his inevitable doom—Acacius, who had not only disregarded the excommunication of the Bishop of Rome, but presumed to emulate his power of pronouncing damnation. Constantinople must absolutely abandon the champion of her co-equality, if not her superiority. Acacius, all his followers, all who respect his memory, must share his irrevocable proscription.[s] The

[s] The letter of Gelasius to Euphemius of Constantinople is a model of that haughty humility which became the ordinary language of the Roman bishops. Euphemius had written, that by condescension and the best disposition he could restore concord ("annectis condescendibilem me et optimâ dispositione revocare posse concordiam").—"Do you call it condescension to admit among true bishops the names of heretics and excommunicated persons, and of those who communicate with them and their successors? Is not this, instead of descending like our Lord from heaven to redeem, to plunge ourselves into hell?" "Hoc non est condescendere ad subveniendum, sed evidenter in inferum demergi." He summons Euphemius to meet him before the tribunal of Christ, in the presence of the apostles, and decide whether his austereness and asperity is not truly apostolic.—Epist. 1.

Roman Gelasius endeavours to awaken a kindred pride in the Emperor Anastasius, now the sole representative of Roman sovereignty;[t] for Italy is under the dominion of the Goth. Gelasius might even seem to cherish some secret hope of the deliverance of Rome from its barbaric lord, by the intervention of the yet Roman East. But at the same time Gelasius asserts boldly, for the first time, in these strong and discriminating terms, the supremacy of the clergy in all religious matters. "There are two powers which rule the world, the Imperial and the Pontifical. You are the sovereign of the human race, but you bow your neck to those who preside over things divine."[u] The priesthood is the greater of the two powers; it has to render an account in the last day for the acts of kings."[x]

Pope Anastasius. Nov. 24, 496.

Pope Anastasius II., the successor of Gelasius, spoke a milder, more conciliatory, even more suppliant language. He dared to doubt the damnation of a bishop excommunicated by the see of Rome:—"Felix and Acacius are now both before a higher tribunal; leave them to that unerring judgment."[y] He would have the name of Acacius passed over in silence, quietly dropped, rather than publicly expunged from the diptychs. This degenerate successor of St. Peter is not

[t] "Te sicut Romæ natus, Romanum principem, amo, colo, suscipio."—Ad Anastas., A.D. 493.

[u] Gelasius refers to the authoritative example of Melchisedek, a type interpreted with curious variation during the Papal history. "In the oldest times Melchisedek was priest and king. The devil, in imitation of this holy example, induced the emperor to assume the supreme pontificate. But after Christianity had revealed the truth to the world, the union of the two powers ceased to be lawful. Neither did the emperor usurp the pontifical, nor the pontiff the imperial power. Christ, mindful of human frailty, has separated for ever the two offices, leaving the emperors dependent on the pontiffs for their everlasting salvation, the pontiffs dependent on the emperors for the administration of all temporal affairs. So the ministers of God do not entangle themselves in secular business; secular men do not intrude into things divine." Pass over eight or nine centuries, and hear Innocent IV.; we give the pregnant Latin: "Dominus enim Jehsus Christus . . . secundum ordinem Melchisedek, verus rex et verus sacerdos existens, quemadmodum patenter ostendit, nunc utendo pro hominibus honorificentiâ regiæ majestatis, nunc exequendo pro illis dignitatem pontificii apud Patrem, in apostolicâ sede non solum pontificatum, sed et regalem constituit monarchatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul et cœlestis imperii concessos habemus."—Apud Hoefler. Albert von Beham, p. 88. Stuttgard, 1847.

[x] "Quando etiam pro ipsis regibus domino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem."—Ad Anastas., Mansi, vii.

[y] "Namque et predecessor noster Papa Felix, et etiam Acacius illic proculdubio sunt: ubi unusquisque sub tanto judice non potest perdere sui meriti qualitatem."—Anastas. Epist. A.D. 496. This letter was sent to Constantinople by two bi-

admitted to the rank of a saint. The Pontifical book (its authority on this point is indignantly repudiated) accuses Anastasius of having communicated with a deacon of Thessalonica, who had kept up communion with Acacius; and of having entertained secret designs of restoring the name of Acacius in the services of the Church.[z] Nov. 19, 498. His death, according to Baronius, his sudden death by the manifest hand of God, destroyed altogether these hopes of peace. But how deep and lasting was the tradition of detestation against this meek renegade to papal authority, may be supposed by its survival for at least nine centuries. Dante beholds in hell the unhappy Anastasius, condemned for ever for his leniency to the heresy of Constantinople.[a]

On the death of Pope Anastasius, the contested election for the pontificate between Symmachus, a convert from paganism,[b] and Laurentius, was exasperated by these divergences of opinion on the schism with the East. Festus, the legate of Anastasius, the deceased Pope, at Constantinople, the bearer, as it was supposed, of conciliatory terms obtained by the concessions of the Pope, on his return to Rome, threw himself as a violent partisan into the cause of Laurentius. The Emperor Anastasius himself, either in private letters to his adherents in Rome or in some public document, accused the successful Symmachus, who, by the decision of King Theodoric, had obtained the throne,[c] as a Manichean; and as having audaciously conspired with the Senate of Rome (a singular Council for the Pope) to excommunicate the Emperor. The sovereign of the East inflexibly withheld the customary letters of gratulation on the accession of Symmachus. The apologetic invective of Symmachus to the Emperor is in the tone of Symmachus.

shops, Cresconius of Todi and Germanus of Capua, with private instructions, not recorded in history.

[z] "Revocare Acacium"—so I translate the words—as Acacius had long been dead.—Lib. Pontif., Vit. Anastas.

[a] "E quivi per l' orribile soperchio
Del puzzo, che 'l profondo abisso gitta
Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio
D' un grand' avello, ov' io vidi una scritta,
Che diceva: Anastagio Papa guardo,
Lo qual trasse Fotino della via dritta."

Fotinus is said to have been the Deacon of Thessalonica.

[b] "Catholica fides, quam in sede beati Petri, veniens ex paganitate, suscepi."—Epist. ad Anastas. The date of this is uncertain. Was he a son or descendant of the famous Symmachus? The latter is more probable.

[c] See on, under the reign of Theodoric, the elevation, struggle, and final establishment of Symmachus.

fearless hostility. He retorts against the Eutychian the odious charge of Manicheism. He denies the excommunication of the Emperor Anastasius; Acacius only was excommunicated. Yet he leaves him to the inevitable conclusion that all who were in communion with the excommunicate must share their doom.[d] Anastasius is arraigned as departing from his boasted neutrality only against the Catholics. The unyielding, almost turbulent resistance of the Roman party in Constantinople is justified by the aggressions assumed to be entirely on the part of the tyrannical Emperor. Peace between two such opponents A.D. 498-514. was not likely to make much progress. Throughout the pontificate of Symmachus, the Roman faction in the East kept up that fierce and tumultuous, or more secret and brooding opposition, which lasted till the death of Anastasius. Symmachus may have heard the first tidings of the orthodox revolt of Vitalianus; his successor Hormisdas reaped the fruits of the humiliation of Anastasius, followed in due time by the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches.[e]

[d] Between 499-512. Baronius places it 503.
[e] See on, under the reign of Theodoric.

CHAPTER II.

CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONIC RACES.

CHRISTIANITY within the Roman Empire might seem endangered in its vital existence by these ungenial inward dissensions. Its lofty assertions that it came down from heaven as a religion of peace—of peace to the individual heart of man, as reconciling it with God, and instilling the serene hope of another life—of peace which should incorporate mankind in one harmonious brotherhood, the type and pre-establishment of the sorrowless and strifeless state of beatitude—might appear utterly belied by the claims of conflicting doctrines, on the belief, all declared to be essential to salvation, and the animosities and bloody quarrels which desolated Christian cities. Anathema instead of benediction had almost become the general language of the Church. Religious wars, at least rare in the pagan state of society, seemed now a new and perpetual source of human misery—a cause and a sign of the weakness and decay, and so of the inevitable dissolution, of the Roman Empire.

But Christianity had sunk into depths of the human heart, unmoved by these tumults, which so fiercely agitated the surface of the Christian world. Far below, less observed, less visible in its mode of operation, though manifest in its effects, was that profound conviction of the truth of the Gospel, that infelt sense of its blessings, which enabled it to pursue its course of conversion throughout the world, to bring the Roman mind more completely under subjection, and one by one to subdue the barbarian tribes which began to overspread and mingle with the Greek and Latin population of the Empire. For Christianity had that within it, which overawed, captivated, enthralled the innate or at least universal religiousness of mankind; that which was sufficiently simple to arrest by its grandeur the ruder bar-

barian, while, by its deeper mysteries, it led on the philosophic and reflective mind through unending regions of contemplation. It had its one Creator and Ruler of the universe, one God, one Redeemer, one Spirit, under which the ancient polytheism subsided into a subordinate hierarchy of intermediate beings, which kept the imagination in play, and left undisturbed almost all the hereditary superstitions of each race. It satisfied that yearning after the invisible, which seems inseparable from our nature, the fears and hopes which more or less vaguely have shadowed out some future being, the fears of retribution appeased by the promises of pardon, the hope of beatitude by its presentiments of peace. It had its exquisite goodness, which appealed to the indelible moral sense of mankind, to the best affections of his being; it had that equality as to religious privileges, duties, and advantages, to which it drew up all ranks and classes, and both sexes (slaves and females being alike with others under the divine care), and the abolition, so far, of the ordinary castes and divisions of men; with the substitution of the one distinction, the clergy and the laity, and perhaps also that of the ordinary Christian and the monk, who aspired to what was asserted and believed to be a higher Christianity. All this was, in various degrees, at once the manifest sign of its divinity, and the secret of its gradual subjugation of nations at such different stages of civilisation. It prepared or found ready the belief in those miraculous powers, which it still constantly declared itself to possess; and made belief not merely prompt to accept, but creative of, wonder, and of perpetual preterhuman interference. Some special causes will appear, which seemed peculiarly to propitiate certain races towards Christianity, while their distinctive character reacted on their own Christianity, and through them perhaps on that of the world.

Conversion of Germans within the Empire.

We are not at present advanced beyond the period when Christianity was in general content (this indeed gave it full occupation) to await the settlement of the Northern tribes, if not within the pale, at least upon the frontiers of the Empire: it had not yet been emboldened to seek them out in their own native

forests or morasses. But it was a surprising spectacle to behold the Teutonic nations melting gradually into the general mass of Christian worshippers. In every other respect they are still distinct races. The conquering Ostrogoth or Visigoth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, the Frank, stand apart from the subjugated Roman population, as an armed or territorial aristocracy. They maintain, in great part at least, their laws, their language, their habits, their character; in religion alone they are blended into one society, constitute one church, worship at the same altar, and render allegiance to the same hierarchy. This is the single bond of their common humanity; and so long as the superior Roman civilisation enabled the Latins to retain exclusively the ecclesiastical functions, they might appear to have retreated from the civil power, which required more strenuous and robust hands to wield it, to this no less extensive and important influence of opinion; and thus held in suspense the trembling balance of authority. They were no longer the sovereigns and patricians, but they were still the pontiffs and priests in the new order of society.

Teutonic character.

There might appear in the Teutonic religious character a depth, seriousness, and tendency to the mysterious, congenial to Christianity, which would prepare them to receive the Gospel. The Grecian polytheist was often driven into Christianity by the utter void in his religion, and by the incongruity of its poetic anthropomorphism with the progress of his discursive reason, as well as by his weariness with his unsatisfactory and exhausted philosophy: the Roman was commanded by its high moral tone and vigour of character. But each had to abandon temples, rites, diversions, literature, which had the strongest hold on his habits and character, and so utterly incongruous with the primitive Gospel, that until Christianity made some steps towards the old religion by the splendour of its ceremonial, and the incipient paganising, not of its creed, but of its popular belief, there were powerful countervailing tendencies to keep him back from the new faith. And when the Greek entered into the Church, he was not content without exercising the quickness of his intelligence, and the versatilities of his language on his creed,

without analysing, discussing, defining everything; or by intruding that higher part of his philosophy, which best assimilated with Christianity, he either philosophised Christianity, or for a time, as under the Neo-Platonists and Julian, set up a partially Christianised philosophy as a new and rival religion. The inveterate corruption of Roman manners confined that vigorous Christian morality, its strongest commendation to the Roman mind, at first within the chosen few, who were not utterly abased by licentiousness or by servility: and even with them in large part it was obedience to civil authority, respect for established law, perhaps in many a kind of sympathy with the lofty and independent sacerdotal dignity, the sole representative of old Roman freedom, which contributed to Christianise the Latin world.

How much more suited were some parts of the Teutonic character to harmonise at first with Christianity, and to keep the proselytes in submission to the authority of its instructors in these sublime truths; at the same time to strengthen the Church by the infusion of its own strength and independence of thought and action, as well as to barbarise it with that ferocity which causes, is increased by, and maintains, the foreign conquests of ruder over more polished races! Already the German had the conception of an illimitable Deity, towards whom he looked with solemn and reverential awe. Tacitus might seem to speak the language of a Christian Father, almost of a Jewish prophet. Their gods could not be confined within walls, and it was degradation to these vast unseen powers to represent them under the human form. Reverential awe alone could contemplate that mysterious being which they called divinity.[a] These deities, or this one Supreme, were shrouded in the untrodden, impenetrable forest. Such seems to have been the sublime conception above, if not anterior to, what may be called the mythology of Teutonic religion. This mythology was the same, only in its elemental form, throughout the German tribes, with

Teutonic religion.

[a] "Cæterum non cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod solâ reverentiâ vident."—Tac. German. ix.

that which, having passed through more than one race of poets, grew into the Eddas of Scandinavia. Vestiges of this close relationship are traced in the language, in the mythic conceptions, and in the superstitions of all the Teutonic tribes. Certain religious forms and words are common to all the races of Teutonic descent.[b] In every dialect appear kindred or derivative terms for the deity, for sacrifice, for temples, and for the priesthood. This mythic religion was in some points a nature worship, though there might have existed, as has been said, something more ancient, and superior to the worship of the visible and impersonated powers or energies of the material world. The Romans discovered, not without wonder, that the supreme deity of the actual German worship was not invested in the attributes of their Jove, but rather of Mercury.[c] There is no doubt that Woden was the divinity to whom they as- Woden.
signed this name, a name which, in its various forms, (it became at length Odin,) is common to the Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Frisians, and other tribes. In its primitive conception, if any of these conceptions were clear and distinct, Woden appears to have been the all-mighty, all-permeating Spirit — the Mind, the primal mover of things, the all-Wise, the God of speech and of knowledge.[d] But with a warlike people, the supreme deity could not but be a god of battle, the giver of victory. He possessed therefore the attributes of Mars blended with

[b] Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, Einleitung, pp. 9–11 (2nd edit.) The whole large volume is a minute and laborious commentary on this axiom.

[c] "Deum maximè Mercurium colunt." —Tac. Germ. ix.

[d] "Wodan sanè quem adjectâ literâ Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur."—Paull. Diacon. i. 9. See also Jonas Bobbiens. Vit. Bonifac. (Dies Mercurii became Wodan's day,—Wednesday. Compare Grimm, p. 116.—) Grimm, pp. 108, &c., and the whole article Wuotan, which he closes with the following observation: "Aber noch zu einen andern Betrachtung darf die hohe stelle führen, welche die Germanen ihrem Wuotan anweisen. Der Monotheismus ist etwas so nothwendiges und wesentliches, das fast alle Heiden in ihrer Götter bunten Gewimmel, bewusst oder unbewusst, darauf ausgehn, einen obersten Gott anzuerkennen, der schon die Eigenschaften aller übrigen in sich trägt, so dass diese nur als seine Einflüsse, verjüngenden und erfrischungen zu betrachten sind. Daraus erklärt sich wie einzelne Eigenheiten bald einem bald diesem einzelnen Gott dargelegt werden, und warum die höchste Macht, nach Verschiendensheit der Völker auf den einen oder den andern derselben fällt."

those of Mercury.[e] The conduct or the reception of departed spirits, which belonged to the pagan Mercury, may have been one function which led to his identification with the Teutonic Woden. Already, no doubt, their world of the dead was a rude Valhalla.

In the earlier belief, the Thunderer, with the sun, the heavenly bodies, and the earth, the great objects of nature-worship, held only the second place. The Herthus of Tacitus was doubtless Hertha, the mother earth, or impersonated nature, of which he describes the worship in language singularly coincident with that of the Berecynthian goddess of Phrygia.[f]

There were other religious usages—most absolutely repugnant to Christianity, and demanding, as it were, her mild intervention,—so universal as to imply a closer relationship than that of unconnected races, which resemble each other from being in the same state of civilisation. From the borders of the Roman Empire to the shores of the Baltic, from the age of Tacitus to that of the Northern Chroniclers, human sacrifices appeased the gods, or rewarded them for the victories which they had bestowed upon their worshippers. The supreme god, Woden, the Mercury of Tacitus, was propitiated by human victims. The tribunes and principal centurions in the army of Varus were slain on these horrid altars.[g] The

Human sacrifices.

[e] Paulus Diacon., loc. cit. He is called Sigvödr (Siegvater) in the Edda.—Grimm, p. 122.

[f] After recounting the tribes who worship this goddess, he proceeds: "In commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insulâ Oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali Deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum, pax et quies tunc tantùm nota, tunc tantùm amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium Deam templo reddit; mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident."—Tacit. Germ. xl. Contrast and compare these secret and awful rites (and their "truce of God") with Lucretius,—

Quo nunc insigni per magnas prædita terras
Horrificè fertur divinæ Matris imago . . .
Ergo cum primum magnas invecta per urbes
Munificat tacita mortales muta salute:
Ære atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,
Largificâ stipe donantes, ninguntque rosarum
Floribus, umbrantes Matrem comitumque catervas. ii. 597 *et seq.*

(Also Ovid. Fasti, iv. 337.) Grimm, in another part of his book, illustrates all this by a circumstance related during the persecution of the Christian Goths by Athanaric (Sozom. H. E. vi. 37). An image on a waggon was led in procession round the tents of the people; all who refused to worship and make their offerings to this Gothic deity were burned alive in their tents.

[g] Tac. Germ. ix. and xxxix. Ann. i. 61.

Goths sacrificed their captives to the god of war.[h] The Greek historian of the age of Justinian imputes the same ferocious usage to the Thuletes (the Scandinavians), and to the Heruli;[i] Sidonius Apollinarius to the Saxons.[k] The Frisian law denounces not merely the penalty of death, but describes as an immolation to the gods the punishment of one who violates a temple. At a later period St. Boniface charges some of his Christian converts with the sale of captives to the pagans for the purpose of sacrifice.[m] At the great temple at Upsala every kind of animal was suspended in sacrifice: seventy-two dogs and men, mingled together, were counted on one occasion.[n] The northern poetry contains many vestiges of these human immolations. The Northmen are said by Dithmar of Merseburg to have sacrificed every year, about Christmas, ninety-nine men in a sacred place in Sea-land. This execrable custom was suppressed by the Emperor Henry I. the Fowler.[o] A.D. 926.

Among animals the horse was the chosen victim of all the Teutonic tribes. It was offered in the age of Tacitus in the German forests, which had been just penetrated by the Roman arms, and according to the Sagas, by the yet unconverted Danes and Swedes. Animal sacrifices.

Throughout the wide regions occupied by the Teutons the sacred grove was the sanctuary of the deity. The Romans could not tread without awe these dark dwelling places of the gods of their enemies; they were astonished at the absence of all images, and perhaps did not clearly distinguish the shapeless symbols which were set up in some places, from the aged trunks, which were also the objects of worship. The reverence for these hallowed places, the adoration of certain trees, survived the introduction of Christianity. The early missionaries Holy groves.

The Hermanduri and Catti are particularly mentioned as slaying human victims.

[h] Jornandes, 86.

[i] Procop. de Bell. Gothic. ii. 14, ii. 15.

[k] Epist. viii. 5.

[m] "Quod quidem ex fidelibus ad immolandum paganis sua venundent mancipia."—Epist. xxv.

[n] "Ita etiam canes, qui pendent cum hominibus, quorum corpora mixta suspensa, narravit mihi quidam Christianorum se septuaginta duo vidisse."

[o] Müller, Saga Bibliothek. ii. 560, v. 93. See also, in Mr. Thorpe's Mythology of Scandinavia, a copious list of references on the sanctity of groves, vol. i. p. 255 (note); on temples, p. 259; on human sacrifices, p. 264.

and the local councils are full of denunciations against this inveterate heathen practice. We shall behold St. Boniface and others, as their crowning triumph, daring to hew down stately trees, the objects of the veneration of ages, and the barbarians standing around, awaiting the event in sullen suspense, and leaving their gods, as it were, on this last trial. If they were gods, would they endure this contumelious sacrilege?

The belief in the immortality of the soul, and in another life, though not perhaps so distinct, or connected with the transmigration of the soul, as in Gaul, yet seems to have been universal, dominant; as far as warlike contempt of death, an active and influential faith. But it was to most men vague, dreary, dismal,—the Nifleheim, the home of clouds and darkness, was the common lot; the Valhalla that alone of the noble, and of select and distinguished warriors.

Priesthood. The priesthood were held in the same reverence throughout Germany. It was not an organised and powerful hierarchy, or a separate caste, like that of the Druids in Gaul and Britain;[p] but the priests officiated in and presided over the sacred ceremonials of sacrifice and worship, and administered justice. In the early German wars, when Rome was, as it were, invading the sanctuaries of the Teutonic deities, the priesthood appear as a kind of officers of the god of war, enforcing discipline, branding cowardice, and inflicting punishment, which the free German spirit would endure only from those who bore a divine commission.[q] In all affairs of public concern —the priest; in private affairs—the head of the family, interpreted the lots by which the gods rendered their oracles.[r] The priest or the king might alone harness the sacred horses; the allusions to the priesthood in the late

[p] Cæsar says of the Germans, "Neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis præsint, neque sacrificiis student."—B. G. vi. 21. This, though not strictly true, is true in the sense in which Cæsar wrote, as contrasted with the hierarchy of Gaul.—"Ungleich beträchtlicher war in Zahl und ausbildung das celtische Priesterthum."—Grimm.

[q] "Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, nec verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum; non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt."—Tacit. Germ. vii.

[r] Tac. Germ. x. and xi. A priest of the Catti was led in the triumph of Germanicus.—Strabo.

writers on the various conquering tribes, are not very frequent, but sufficient to show that they had that veneration inseparable from the character of persons who performed sacrifices, consulted the gods, and by auspices, or other modes of divination, predicted victory or disaster.[s] Prophetic women characterise the Teutonic faith in all its numerous branches. The Velleda of Tacitus, who ruled like a queen, and was worshipped almost as a goddess, is the ancestress of the Nornas of the poetic Sagas.[t] In the East the gift of prophecy is sometimes, but rarely, vouchsafed to females; in Greece it was equally shared by both sexes; the seer or prophet is the exception in the Northern mythology. This reverence for women, especially for sacred virgins, no doubt prepared them to receive one article of the new religious faith, which had already begun to grow towards its later all-absorbing importance; while it harmonised with the general tendency of Christian doctrine to elevate the female sex.

Such was the general character of the Teutonic religion, disposed to the dark, the awful, the mysterious, with a profound belief in prophetic revelations, and a priesthood accustomed to act in a judicial, as well as in a religious capacity. And with such religious conceptions, and habits of thought and feeling, the Northern tribes, first on the frontiers, afterwards within the frontiers, and gradually in the heart of the Roman Empire, came into the presence of Christianity—of Christianity now organised under a powerful priesthood, an hierarchy of bishops, priests, and inferior clergy: laying claim to divine inspiration; and though that divine inspiration was gathered and concentered, as it were, into a sacred book—in a wider and more vague and indistinct sense, it remained with the rulers of the Church. The Teutonic

Teutons encounter Christianity.

[s] Even Grimm's industry is baffled by the question of the power of the priesthood in Germany: "Aus der folgende zeit und bis zur einführung des Christenthums, haben wir fast gar keine kunde weiter wie es sich in innern Deutschland mit dem priestern verhielt: ihr dasein folgt aus dem der tempel und opfer."—p. 81. Among the Anglo-Saxons the priests might not bear arms, or ride, except on a mare.—Bede, Hist. Ecc. 11-13.

[t] Tac. Germ. viii. Hist. iv. 61. "Ea virgo, nationis Bructeræ, latè *imperitabat*. Vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas." Compare iv. 65, v. 24, Grimm, Art. Weise Frauen.

conqueror, already expatriated by the thirst for conquest, or the aggression of more martial tribes, by his migration had broken off all local associations of sanctity; he had left far behind him his hallowed grove,[u] and his reeking altar;[x] even the awe of his primeval forests must have gradually worn away as he advanced into the southern sunshine, and took possession of the regular towns, or the cultivated farms of his Roman subjects.

The human sacrifices not merely belonged of ancient usage to these gloomy sanctuaries: but even before they had learned the Christian tenet, that all sacrifice had ceased with the one great sacrifice on the cross, the milder manners, which they could not but insensibly, if slowly, acquire, by intercourse with more polished nations, would render such dire offerings more and more unfrequent: they would be reserved for signal occasions, till at length they would fall into total desuetude.

Christ a God of Battle.

In one respect, in which the genius of Christianity might have been expected to clash with his own religious notions, Christianity had already advanced many steps to meet the Teuton. The Christian God, and even the gentle Saviour of mankind, had become a God of battle. The cross, the symbol of Christian redemption, glittered on the standards of the legions; and every victory, and every new conquest, might encourage the hope that this God, the God of the southern people, did not behold them with disfavour, was deserting his own votaries, and would gladly receive and reward the allegiance of more manly and valiant worshippers. Notwithstanding the proud consciousness of their own superior prowess as warriors, the Teutonic conquerors could not enter into the dominions of Rome, cross the Roman bridges, march along the Roman roads, encamp before the walled cities, with their towers, temples, basilicas, forums, aqueducts, baths, and churches, now aspiring to grandeur, if not magnificence, without awe at the superior intellectual

[u] The Lombards even in Italy found stately trees to worship. See Muratori, Dissert. 59, especially a curious quotation about a holy tree in the dukedom of Benevento. The Gallic Councils (Arles, 452; Tours, 597; Nantes, 658) prohibit the worship of trees, the latter of certain stones.

[x] Luitprand. Leg. l. vi. 30.

power of those whom they had subdued. It was natural to connect this intellectual superiority with the religion; and while everything else, the civil power, the ordinary course of affairs, as well as the army, bowed before them, the religion alone stood up, resolute, unyielding, almost undisturbed. The Christian bishops and clergy (like the aged senators of old, as they are described in the noble passage of Livy, awaiting their doom in the Capitol, and appalling for a time the ruthless Gaul by the venerable majesty of their dress and demeanour) might seem to awe their conquerors into respect; and though at times, when the paroxysm of wonder was broken, as in the former instance, the conquerors might insult or even massacre the objects of their adoration, still in general the sacred character would work on the superstitious mind of the barbarian. The Teuton had already the habit of contemplating the priest as the representative of divinity. According to the general feeling of polytheism, acknowledging the gods of other tribes or nations, as well as his own, to possess divine power, he arrayed the priesthood of the stranger in the same fearfulness; the mysterious sanctity which dwelt with the Christian's God hallowed the Christian bishop. Respect for the clergy.

Nor, though individual priests might and did accompany the migratory tribes, does there appear any of that strong sacerdotal spirit which belongs to an organised hierarchy, by which its influence is chiefly maintained and established, which is pledged to and supported by mutual emulation, and by fear of the reproach of treason to the common cause, or of base abandonment of the wealth, the power, and the credit of the fraternity. With these elements then of faith within his heart, the German was migrating into the territory as it were of a new God, and was encountered everywhere by the priest of that God. That priest was usually full of zeal, and, with all to whom his language was intelligible, of eloquence; confessedly in all intellectual qualities a superior being, and asserting himself to be divinely commissioned to impart the truth; seizing every opportunity of vicissitude, of distress, of sickness, of affliction, to enforce the power and No Teutonic priesthood.

goodness of his God; himself perhaps in perfect faith turning every one of those countless incidents, which to a barbarian mind was capable of a supernatural tinge, into a manifest miracle; opening a new and more distinct and terrible hell, and a heaven of light and gladness, and declaring himself to possess the keys of both.

Effect on Christians.

At no time, under no circumstances, would Christianity appear more sincere, more devout, more commanding, or more amiable. As has always been observed during a plague, an earthquake, or any other great public calamity, men become either more recklessly godless, or more profoundly religious; so during the centuries of danger, disaster and degradation, which were those of barbarian invasion and conquest, the fire must, as it were, have been trying the spirits of men. Those who had no vital or rooted religion would fall off, as some of them would assert, from a God who showed them no protection. These while free would waste away the few remaining years or days of their wealth, or at all events of their freedom, in licentiousness and luxury; if slaves, they would sink to all the vices, as well as the degradation of slavery. The truly religious, on the other hand, would clasp more nearly to their heart the one remaining principle of consolation and of dignity. They would fly from a world, which only offered shame and misery, to the hope of a better and more happy state of being. Death was their only release, but beyond death, they were secure, they were at peace, they would take refuge, at least in faith, from the face of a tyrannical master, or what to a free-born Roman was as galling and humiliating, a lord and proprietor, in the presence of the Redeemer. They would flee from down-trodden servitude on earth to glory and beatitude in heaven. The darker the calamity, the more entire the resignation: as wretchedness would be more rampant, so devotion would be more devout. The Provincial with his home desolated, his estate seized, his family outraged, or massacred, or carried away into bondage, would, if really Christian, consider himself as taking up his cross; he would be a more fervent, as it were, a desperate believer.

In the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, we find the Bishop of Clermont writing to Maternus, the Bishop of Vienne, for the form of certain litanies or rogations, which were used in that city during an earthquake and conflagration: he proposes to institute the same solemn ceremonies in apprehension of the invasion of the Goths into Provence. Salvian bitterly reproaches the Roman Gauls with their passion for theatric games, which they indulged during such days of peril and disaster only with more desperate intensity. But, even if the true Christians in those hours of trial were fewer in number, it cannot be doubted that their piety took a more vehement and impassioned character. It was the time for great Christian virtues, as well as for more profound Christian consolations, virtues which in some points would be strikingly congenial to barbaric minds, as giving a sublime patience and serenity in suffering, a calm contempt of death. The Germans would admire the martyr whom in their wantonness they slew, if that martyr showed true Christian tranquillity in his agony. There was no danger which the better bishops and clergy would not encounter for their flocks; they would venture to confront unarmed the fierce warrior; all the treasures of the unplundered churches were willingly surrendered for the redemption of captives. The austerities practised by some of the clergy, and by those who had commenced the monastic life, would arrest the attention and enthral the admiration of barbarians, to whom self-command, endurance, strength of will, would appear kindred and noble qualities. In the early period, when the Germans still dwelt separate in their camps, or in the ceded settlements within the frontier, the captives would be, and as history shows, were the chief missionaries. The barbarians on the one hand would more and more feel the intellectual superiority of their bond-slaves, which would induce them to look favourably on their religion. The captives, some of them bishops, some females of high rank and influential beauty, where they were truly Christians, would be urged by many of the purest, and many less holy motives, to convert their masters. The sacred duty of disseminating the Gospel, the principle of love which would impart its

blessings to all mankind; the strong conviction that they were rescuing the barbarians from eternal damnation, the doom of all but the believers in Christ, and so in the noblest form returning good for evil, would conspire with the pride and consolation of ruling their rulers; of maintaining in one sense the Roman supremacy over the minds of men. The end would sanctify all arts, dignify all humiliations; Christian zeal and worldly ambition would act together in perfect harmony.

Teutons in the midst of the Empire.

Where the Teutonic nations had penetrated more into the midst of the Roman Empire; where they had settled down, as they did successively, in all the provinces, as lords of the soil, they would be more fully in the presence and concentered influence of Christianity. Themselves without temples, without shrines, without altars, perhaps without a priesthood, they would be daily spectators of the lofty and spacious edifices, perhaps the imposing processions, the ceremonial, which had already begun to assume some grandeur, of the Christian churches; if admitted, or forcing their way within, or hearing from without the hymns and the music, the ordinary ceremonial which they would witness, and still more perhaps the more solemn mysteries which were jealously shrouded from their sight, would lay hold upon their unpreoccupied religiousness, and offer them as almost ready captives to the persuasive teacher of these new and majestic truths. Their conversion therefore was more speedy, and comparatively more complete. They too contributed much to establish that imposing, but certainly degenerate form of warlike and sacerdotal Christianity, which had been growing up for two or three centuries. No doubt they retained and infused into the Christianity of the conquered provinces many of their old native superstitions, and modes of religious thought and feeling, but far less than survived in Germany itself. There the nature worship lingered behind in the bosom of Christianity; and under the sublime Monotheism of Christianity, as the old beneficent or malignant deities of paganism, became angels or spirits of evil. Everywhere among the converted tribes, the groves, the fountains, the holy

animals, preserved their sanctity. As we accompany the missionaries in their spiritual campaigns we shall encounter many curious circumstances, which will appear more striking when in their proper position, than brought together and crowded in one general view. The character of the Christianity which grew up out of these discordant elements will be best discerned in the progress of its growth.[y]

Successive conversion of Teutonic tribes.

About the year 300 Christianity had found its way among the Goths and some of the German tribes on the Rhine. The Visigoths first embraced the Gospel, as a nation; they were followed by the Ostrogoths; with these the Vandals and the Gepidæ were converted during the fourth century. At the close of the fifth century the Franks were converted, and at the beginning of the sixth, first the Alemanni, then the Lombards; the Bavarians in the seventh and eighth, the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians in the eighth; the Saxons by the sword of Charlemagne in the ninth. Our present inquiry limits itself to the conversions within the pale of the Roman Empire, and closes with that of the Franks. With the exception of the latter, the whole of these nations were the conquests of Arian Christianity, or embraced it during the early period of their belief. That diversity of religious creed which perplexed the more mature Christian, especially the disputatious Greek, and imaginative Asiatic, touched not these simple believers. The Arian Goth had submissively received the lessons of his first teacher, and with some tribes the difference was so little felt, that he did not persecute on account of it. Nations changed their belief with but slight reluctance. The Burgundians in Gaul were first Catholic, then Arians under the Visigothic rule, Catholic again with the Franks. The Suevians in Spain were first Catholic, then fell off into Arianism: it was not till the sixth century that Spain was Catholic. For soon, indeed, religious difference became a pretext for cruelty and ambition, made the Vandal in Africa a persecutor as

Arianism of first converts.

[y] The description of the Holstenians by Helmold (i. 47) will apply more or less to most of the early German converts: "Nihil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habetis . . . nam lucorum et fontium cæterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud vos habetur."

well as a tyrant, and became the battle word of the Frank when he would invade the dominions of the Burgundian or the Visigoth, or when he descended into Italy to protect the orthodox Bishop of Rome against the heterodox Lombard.

Ulphilas.

But of these early Arian missionaries, the Arian records, if they ever existed, have almost entirely perished. The Church was either ignorant or disdained to preserve their memory. Ulphilas alone, the apostle of the Goths, has, as it were, forced his way into the Catholic records, in which, as in the fragments of his great work, his translation of the Scriptures into the Mœso-Gothic language, this admirable man has descended to posterity.[z] Ulphilas was a Goth by birth, not by descent. His ancestors, during a predatory expedition of the Goths into Asia, under the reign of Gallienus, had been swept away with many other captives, some belonging to the clergy, from a village in Cappadocia, to the Gothic settlements north of the Danube.[a] These captives, faithful to their creed, perpetuated and propagated among their masters the doctrines of Christianity. Ulphilas first appears as the Bishop of the Goths, and as their ambassador at the Court of Valens.[b] His religion, and his descent from a Roman provincial family, as well as high influence, might designate him for this mission to the Roman Emperor of the East.[c] The Goths beyond the Danube, pressed by the more powerful and ferocious Huns, requested permission to cross the Danube, and settle in Mœsia, within the Roman frontier. Among the motives

[z] The orthodox abbreviator of Philostorgius acknowledges, but carefully suppresses, the praises which Philostorgius had lavished on Ulphilas. We would almost have forgiven him the suppression of the praise, if he had imparted the more extensive information which Philostorgius seems to have preserved of this great event.

[a] The name of Eutyches, called by S. Basil, the Blessed, has survived, as having, from the same region, Cappadocia, established a church among the Scythians, (the Sarmatians,) who had been subdued, and were mingled with the Goths. S. Cyril asserts that the Scythians had no cause to envy the Empire; they had their bishops, priests, deacons, sacred virgins.—Cyril Hierosolym. Catech. xvi.

[b] Basil, Epist. 16, tome iii.

[c] It is said that the Gothic bishop, like his predecessor Theophilus, reported to have been present at the Council of Nicea (Socrates, ii. 41), had professed that creed; that he was threatened, bribed, persuaded by Valens to accede to his Arianism, and acquiesced in it as a mere verbal dispute. οὐκ εἶναι δογμάτων ἕφη διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ ματαίαν ἔριν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν διάστασιν.—Theodoret, iv. 37.

which induced the Emperor to consent, and to accept this nation of hardy, but dangerous subjects, was their, at least partial, conversion to Christianity. Ulphilas was called by the grateful Christian Goths, who might now pasture their herds in the rich plains of Thrace, the Moses, who had led them into the land of promise.[d] But the disciples of Ulphilas formed but a small part of the vast migration, which, partly under permission, partly by bribery of the Imperial officers, partly by stealth, and partly by force, came swarming over the river, and took possession of the unprotected Roman province. The heathen part of the population brought over their own priests and priestesses, with their altars and rites; but on those mysterious rites they maintained an impenetrable silence; they disguised their priests in the garb and manners of Christian bishops. They had even fictitious monks clothed in black, and demeaning themselves as Christian ascetics.[e] Thus, relates the heathen historian, who makes this curious statement, while they faithfully but secretly adhered to their own religion, the Romans were weak enough to suppose them perfect Christians. But once on the Roman side of the Danube, the more martial Goths spurned the religion which they had condescended to feign with barbarian cunning.[f] Ulphilas, as a true missionary of the Prince of Peace, aspired not merely to convert his disciples to Christianity, but to peaceful habits. In his translation of the Scriptures he left out the Books of Kings, as too congenial and too stimulative to their warlike propensities.[g] The Goths divided into two

Migration of Goths across the Danube.

[d] Philostorg. ii. 5.

[e] This remarkable passage of Eunapius is one of the most important historical fragments discovered in the Palimpsest MSS. by Monsignor Mai. It was of course unknown to the older historians, including Gibbon.—Mai, p. 277. In the reprint of the Byzantines (Bonn, 1829, edit. Niebuhr), p. 82, Eunapius speaks of the false bishops having much of the fox. The hatred of Eunapius to the monks breaks out in his description of these impostors. "The mimicry of the monks was not difficult; it was enough to sweep the ground with black robes and tunics, to be good for nothing and believed in." οὐδὲν ἰσχούσης τῆς μιμήσεως πραγματώδεις καὶ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ ἐξήρκει φαιὰ ἱμάτια σύρουσι καὶ χιτώνια, πονηροῖς τι εἶναι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι.

[f] Are we to attribute Jerome's triumphant exclamations to these events? Probably not altogether. "Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus, Ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria."—Ad Læt. "Stridorem suum in dulce crucis fregerunt melos."—Ad Heliod. "Hunni discunt Psalterium."—Ad Læt.

[g] Philostorgius, loc. cit.

factions, each with its great hereditary chieftain: of the one, the valiant Athanaric; of the other Fritigern, the friend of Ulphilas. The warlike and anti-Christian party appealed to their native Gods, and raised a violent persecution.[h] The God of their fathers was placed on a lofty waggon, and drawn through the whole camp; all who refused their adoration were burned, with their whole families, in their tents. A multitude, especially of helpless women and children, who took refuge in their rude church, were likewise mercilessly burned with their sacred edifice.[i] But while in their two great divisions, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the nation, gathering its descendants from all quarters, spread their more or less rapid conquests over Gaul, Italy, and Spain, Ulphilas formed a peaceful and populous colony of shepherds and herdsmen on the pastures below Mount Hæmus.[k] He became the Primate of a simple Christian nation. For them he formed an alphabet of twenty-four letters, and completed (all but the fierce Books of Kings) his translation of the Scriptures. Thus the first Teutonic Christians received the gift of the Bible, in their own language, from the Apostle of their race.[m]

Strife among the Goths.

No record whatever, not even a legend remains, of the manner in which the two great branches of the Gothic race, the Visigoths in France, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the Suevians in Spain, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the mingled hosts which formed the army of Odoacer, the first king of Italy, and at length the fierce Lombards, were converted to Christianity.[n] They no doubt yielded—but secretly and imperceptibly—to those

History of conversion unknown.

[h] These persecutions are by some placed before the migration over the Danube. I think the balance of probability favours the view in the text.

[i] Sozomen, iv. 37. Compare the legend of S. Saba, apud Bolland, April 12—remembering that it is a legend.

[k] "Gothi minores, populus immensus cum suo Pontifice ipsoque Primate Wulfila . . . ad pedes montis. Gens multa sedit, pauper et imbellis, nisi armento diversi generis pecorum et pascuis, silvâque lignorum, parùm habens tritici."—Jornandes, c. lii.

[m] It is difficult to discriminate between the rhetoric and the facts recorded by Jerome. If we are to take his words in their plain sense, theologic studies were far advanced among the Goths: "Quis hoc crederet ut barbari Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem? et dormitantibus imo contendentibus Græcis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sancti eloquia scrutaretur."—Epist. ad Juniam et Fretilam, tom. ii. p. 626.

[n] Idacius (Chron. 448) says the Suevians were first Catholic; if so, they were converted to Arianism by the Goths.

influences described above; the faith appears to steal from nation to nation, and wins king after king; and it is only when they become sovereigns of great independent kingdoms, conquerors like Alaric, founders of dynasties like Theodoric in Italy, and the Visigothic and Suevian monarchs in France and Spain, or raise fierce persecutions, like the Vandals in Africa against the Catholics, that we recognise them as professed Christians, and Christians holding a peculiar form of faith.[o]

except of Burgundians.

Of the Burgundians alone, and the motives of their conversion, remains a curious detail in one of the Byzantine ecclesiastical historians. The Burgundians occupied at that time the left bank of the Rhone, had acquired peaceful habits, and employed themselves in some kind of manufacture.[p] The terrible invasion of the Huns broke in upon their quiet industry. Despairing of the aid of man, they looked round for some protecting Deity; the God of the Romans appeared the mightiest, as worshipped by the most powerful people. They set off to a neighbouring city of Gaul, requested, and after some previous fasting, received baptism from the bishop. Their confidence in their new tutelar Deity gave them courage, they discomfited with a small body of troops, about 3000, a vast body of the Huns, who lost 10,000 men. From that time the Burgundians embraced Christianity, in the words of the historian, with fiery zeal.[q]

All Arians.

But all these nations were converts to the Arian form of Christianity, except perhaps the Burgundians,[r] who under the Visigoths fell off to Arianism. Ulphilas himself was a semi-Arian, and acceded to the creed of Rimini. Hence the total silence of the Catholic historians, who perhaps destroyed, or disdained to preserve the fame of Arian conquests to the common Christianity.[s]

[o] Compare a modern book of research and judgment, and on the whole, of candour, L'Arianisme des Peuples Germaniques, par Ch. J. Reveillot. Paris: Besançon, 1850.

[p] Socrates, Eccl. Hist. vii. 30. οὗτοι βίον ἀπράγμονα ζῶσιν αἰεί, τέκτονες γὰρ σχεδὸν πάντες εἰσιν. Of what were they artisans? This was during the reign of Theodosius II., A.D. 408–449.

[q] τὸ ἔθνος διαπύρως ἐχριστιάνισεν, loc. cit.

[r] Orosius, vii. 22.

[s] Salvian is absolutely charitable to the errors of the German Arians: "Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Errant ergo, sed bono animo errant, non odio sed affectu Dei." But this is to contrast them with the vices of the orthodox.—De Gubern. Dei.

The first conversion of a Teutonic nation to the faith, of which any long and particular account survives, was that of the Franks, and that by Catholic prelates into stern proselytes to the Catholic faith.[1]

Conversion of Franks.

This conversion of the Franks was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history. It had great influence on the formation of the Frankish monarchy. The adoption of the Catholic form of faith, by arraying on the side of the Franks all the Catholic prelates and their followers, led to their preponderance over the Visigothic and Burgundian kings, to their descent into Italy under Pepin and his son, and to their intimate connexion with the Papal see; and thus paved the way for the Western Empire of Charlemagne. They were the chosen champions of Catholicism, and Catholicism amply repaid them by vindicating all their aggressions upon the neighbouring kingdoms, and aiding in every way the consolidation of their formidable power. The Franks, the most barbarous of the Teutonic tribes (though in cruelty they seem to have been surpassed by the Vandals), had settled in a Christian country, already illustrious in legendary annals for the wonders of Saints, as of Martin of Tours, the foundation of monasteries, and the virtues of Bishops like Remigius, who gave his name to the great cathedral city of Rheims. The south of France was ruled by Arian sovereigns. Clovis was a pagan, then only the chief of about 4000 Frankish warriors, but full of adventurous daring and unmeasured ambition. His conversion, if it had not issued in events of such profound importance to mankind, might have seemed but a trivial and fortuitous occurrence. The influence of a female conspires with the conviction that the Christians' God is the stronger God of battle; such are the impulses which seem to bring this bold yet crafty barbarian, who no doubt saw his advantage in his change of belief, to the foot of the Cross, and made him a strenuous assertor of orthodox faith. Clovis had obtained in marriage the niece of Gun-

[1] Gregory of Tours is the great authority for this period: he wrote for those "qui appropinquante mundi fine desperant."—In Prolog. See Loebel, Gregor von Tours; Ampère, Hist. Lit. de la France.

debald, king of the Burgundians. The early life of this Princess was passed amid the massacre of her parents and kindred; it shows how little Christianity had allayed the ferocity of these barbarians.

Gundicar, king of the Burgundians, left four sons. The fate of the family was more like that of a polygamous Eastern prince, where the sons of different mothers, bred up without brotherly intercourse in the seraglio, own no proximity of blood. Gundebald, the elder son, first slew his brother Chilperic, tied a stone round the neck of Chilperic's wife, and cast her into the Rhone, beheaded his two sons and threw their bodies into a well. The daughters, of whom Clotilda was one, he preserved alive. Godemar, his next brother, he besieged in his castle, set it on fire, and burned him alive. Godesil, the third brother, as will be related at a subsequent period, shared the same fate. Gundebald, as yet only a double fratricide, either felt, or thought it right to appear to feel, deep remorse for his crimes. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, saw or imagined some inclination in the repentant king to embrace Catholicism. In far different language from that spoken by Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, the Bishop addressed the bloody monarch,—"You weep with inexpressible grief at the death of your brothers, your sympathising people are afflicted by your sadness. But by the secret counsels of God, this sorrow shall turn to joy; no doubt this diminution in the number of its princes was intended for the welfare of the kingdom, those alone were allowed to survive who are needed for the administration of the kingdom." [u] Gundicar the Burgundian.

Gundebald, however, resisted these flattering arguments, and remained obstinately Arian; but Clotilda, his niece, it is unknown through what influence, was educated in orthodoxy. Clotilda took the opportunity, when the heart of her husband Clovis might be softened by the birth of her first-born son, to endeavour to wean him from his idolatry. Clovis listened with careless indifference; yet with the same indifference common in the Teutonic tribes,

[u] Alcimi Aviti Epist. apud Sirmond. oper. vol. ii.

permitted the baptism of the infant. But the child died, and Clovis saw in his death the resentment of his offended Gods; he took but little comfort from the assurance of the submissive mother, that her son, having been baptized, was in the presence of God. Yet with the same strange versatility of feeling, he allowed his second son also to be baptized. This child too declined, and Clovis began to renew his reproaches; but the prayer of the mother was heard, and the child restored to health.[x]

Clovis. It was not, however, in this gentler character that the Frank would own the power of the Christians' God. The Franks and the Alemanni met in battle at Tolbiac, not far from Cologne. The Franks were worsted, when Clovis bethought him of Clotilda's God. He cast off his own inefficient divinities; he prayed to Christ, and made a solemn vow, that if he were succoured, he would be baptized as a Christian. The tide of battle turned; the king of the Alemanni was slain; and the Alemanni, in danger of total destruction, hailed Clovis as their sovereign.[y]

Clotilda, without loss of time, sent the glad tidings to Remigius, Bishop of the city, which afterwards took his name. Clovis still hesitated, till he could consult his people. The obsequious warriors declared their readiness to be of the same religion as their king. To impress the minds of the barbarians the baptismal ceremony was performed with the utmost pomp; the church was hung with embroidered tapestry and white curtains; odours of incense like airs of Paradise were diffused around; the building blazed with countless lights. When the new Constantine knelt in the font to be cleansed from the leprosy of his heathenism, "Fierce Sicambrian," said the Bishop, "bow thy neck: burn what thou hast adored, adore what thou hast burned!" Three thousand Franks followed the example of Clovis. During one of their sub-

[x] According to Gregory of Tours, she argued with her husband against the worship of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury. Was it ignorance, or did Gregory suppose that he was writing like a Roman?—Gregor. Turon. ii.

[y] "Invocavi enim Deos meos, sed, ut experior, elongati sunt ab auxilio meo, unde credo eos nullius esse potestatis præditos, qui sibi obedientibus non succurrunt. Te nunc invoco, et tibi credens desidero, tantùm ut eruar ab adversariis meis."—Greg. Turon. ii. 30.

sequent religious conferences, the Bishop dwelt on the barbarity of the Jews in the death of the Lord. Clovis was moved, but not to tenderness,—"Had I and my faithful Franks been there, they had not dared to do it." A.D. 496.

At that time Clovis the Frank was the only orthodox sovereign in Christendom. The Emperor Anastasius lay at least under the suspicion of favouring the Eutychian heresy. The Ostrogoth Theodoric in Italy, the Visigothic[z] and Burgundian kings in France, the Suevian in Spain, the Vandal in Africa were Arians. If unscrupulous ambition, undaunted valour and enterprise, and desolating warfare, had been legitimate means for the propagation of pure Christianity, it could not have found a better champion than Clovis. For the first time the diffusion of belief in the nature of the Godhead became the avowed pretext for the invasion of a neighbouring territory.[a] Already the famous Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, has addressed a letter to Clovis, in which he augurs from the faith of Clovis the victory of the Catholic faith; even the heterodox Byzantine emperor is to tremble on his throne; Catholic Greece to exult at the dawning of this new light in the West. The wars of Clovis with Burgundy were all but openly declared wars of religion; the orthodox clergy hardly condescended to disguise their inclination to the Franks, whom they supported with their prayers, if not with more substantial assistance.[b] Before the war broke out, a synod of the orthodox Bishops met, it is said, under the advice of Remigius, at Lyons. With Avitus at their

Clovis the only orthodox sovereign.

[z] Euric, the greatest of the Visigothic kings, was now dead; he had left but feeble successors. Euric laboured under the evil fame of a persecutor; he had attempted what Theodoric aspired to effect in Italy, but with far less success, the fusion of the two races—the Roman and Teutonic; but that of which Sidonius so bitterly complains, of so many sees vacant by the intolerance of Euric, the want of bishops and clergy to perpetuate the Catholic succession, ruined churches, and grass-grown altars, reads as too eloquent. Reveillot admits that the views of Euric were political rather than religious (p. 141).

[a] The rebellion of Vitalianus in the East was a few years later.

[b] The barbarous Clovis must have heard, it must not be said, read, still less, considering the obscure style of the prelate, understood, the somewhat gross and lavish flattery of his faith, his humility, even his *mercy*, to which the saintly Bishop scrupled not to condescend: "Vestra fides nostra victoria est. . . . Gaudeat ergo quidem Græcia se habere principem legis nostræ. Numquid fidem perfecto prædicabimus quam ante perfectionem sine prædicatore vidistis? an forte humilitatem . . . an *misericordiam* quam solutus a vobis adhuc nuper populus captivus gaudiis mundo insinuat lacrymis Deo?" The mercy of Clovis! —Avitus, Epist. xli.

head, they visited King Gundebald, and proposed a conference with the Arian bishops, whom they were prepared to prove from the Scripture to be in error.[c] The king shrewdly replied,—"If yours be the true doctrine, why do you not prevent the King of the Franks from waging an unjust war against me, and from caballing with my enemies against me?[d] There is no true Christian faith where there is rapacious covetousness for the possessions of others, and thirst for blood. Let him show forth his faith by his good works." Avitus skilfully eluded this question, and significantly replied, that he was ignorant of the motives of Clovis, "but this I know, that God overthrows the thrones of those who are disobedient to his law."[e] When after the submission of the Burgundian kingdom to the payment of tribute to the Franks, Gundebald resumed the sway, his first act was to besiege his brother Godesil, the ally of Clovis, in Vienne. Godesil fled to the Arian church, and was slain there with the Arian Bishop.[f] On this occasion Avitus tried again to work on the obstinate mind of Gundebald; his arguments confounded but did not persuade the king, who retained his errors to the end of his life.

Religious wars.

When, however, Clovis determined to attack the kingdom of the Visigoths, the monkish historian ascribes to him this language:—"I am sore troubled that these Arians still possess so large a part of

[c] It is remarkable that all the distinguished and influential of the clergy appear on the Catholic side. The Arians are unknown even by name. It is true that we have only Catholic annalists. But I have little doubt that the Arian prelates were for the most part barbarians, inferior in education and in that authority which still, in peaceful functions, attached to the Roman name. It was Rome now enlisting a new clan of barbarians in her own cause, and under her own guidance, against her foreign oppressors.

[d] The Bishop Avitus of Vienne was in correspondence with the insurgent Vitalianus in the court of the Emperor Anastasius. So completely were now all wars and rebellions religious wars.

[e] Collatio Episcop. apud D'Achery, Spicileg. iii. p. 304.

[f] M. Reveillot has very ingeniously, perhaps too ingeniously, worked out the religious history of the reign of King Gundebald (p. 189 et seq.). But he is somewhat tender to the bishop, who "almost praises Gundebald for the murder of his brothers." The passage is too characteristic to be omitted: "Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum (he had murdered them), sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio, et occulto *divinitatis intuitu*, instrumenta mœstitiæ parabantur ad gaudium .... Minuebat regni felicitas numerum regalium personarum et hoc solum servabatur mundo, quod sufficeret imperio (the good Turkish maxim). Illic repositum est quicquid prosperum fuit catholicæ veritati." This is said of an Arian, but the father of an orthodox son, Sigismund, converted by Avitus.—Epist. v. p. 95.

Gaul."[g] Before he set out on his campaign the King of the Franks went to perform his devotions before the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. As he entered the church he heard the words of the Psalm which they were chaunting, —"Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued unto me those which rose up against me. Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me."[h] The oracular words were piously fulfilled by Clovis. The Visigothic kingdom was wasted and subdued by the remorseless sword of the Frank. These are not the only illustrations of the Christianity practised by Clovis, and related in perfect simplicity by his monkish historian.[i] Gregory of Tours describes without emotion one of the worst acts which darken the reign of Clovis. He suggested to the son of Sigebert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, the assassination of his father, with the promise that the murderer should be peaceably established on the throne. The murder was committed in the neighbouring forest. The parricide was then slain by the command of Clovis, who in a full parliament of the nation solemnly protested that he had no share in the murder of either; and was raised by general acclamation on a shield, as King of the Ripuarian Franks. Gregory concludes with this pious observation:—"For God thus daily prostrated his enemies under his hands, and enlarged his kingdom, because he walked before him with an upright heart, and did that which was pleasing in his sight."[k] Yet Gregory of Tours was a prelate, himself of gentle and blameless manners, and of profound piety.

Born A.D. 539-594.

[g] "Valde molestè fero, quod hi Ariani partem Galliarum tenent. Eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et superatis eis terram redigamus in ditionem nostram."—Greg. Tur. ii. 37.

[h] Psalm xviii. 39. Did Clovis understand Latin, or did the orthodox clergy of Tours interpret the flattering prophecy?

[i] Miracles accompany his bloody arms; a hind shows a ford; a light from the church of St. Hilary in Poitiers summons him to hasten his attack before the arrival of the Italian troops of Theodoric in the camp of the Visigoth. The walls of Angoulême fall of their own accord. Gregory Tur. ii. 37. According to the life of S. Remi, Clovis massacred all the Arian Goths in the city.—Ap. Bouquet, iii. p. 379. S. Cesarius, the Bishop of Arles, when that city was besieged by Clovis and the Burgundians, was suspected of assisting the invader by more than his prayers. He was imprisoned, his biographers assert, his innocence proved.—Vit. S. Cæsar. in Mabill. Ann. Benedic. sæc. i.

[k] Greg. Turon. ii. 42. "Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, eò quod

Throughout indeed this dark period of the contest between the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians for the dominion of France, as well as through the long dreary annals of the Merovingian kings, it will be necessary, as well as just, to estimate the character, influence, and beneficent workings of the clergy on the whole society. But the more suitable place for this inquiry will be when the two races, the Roman provincial and the Teutonic, are more completely mingled, though not fused together, for it was but gradually that the clergy, who never ceased to be Roman in the language of their services and of letters, ceased to be so in sentiment, and throughout northern France especially, in blood and descent. There is more even at this time of the first conversion of the Franks to Christianity, in the close alliance between the Roman clergy of Gaul with the Franks, than the contest of Catholicism with heterodoxy. The Arian clergy of the Visigoths were probably, to a considerable extent, of Teutonic race, some of them, like Ulphilas, though provincials of the Empire by descent, of Gothic birth. Their names have utterly perished; this may partly (as has been said) be ascribed to the jealousy of the Catholic writers, the only annalists of the time. But the conversion of the Franks was wrought by the Latin clergy. The Franks were more a federation of armed adventurers than a nation migrating with their families into new lands; they were at once more barbarous and more exclusively warlike. It would probably be long before they would be tempted to lay aside their arms and aspire to the peaceful ecclesiastical functions. The Roman Gauls might even imagine that they beheld in the Franks deliverers from the tyranny of their actual masters,[m] the

Influence of clergy.

Clergy Latin.

ambulavit rectè corde omnino, et fecerit quæ placita erant in oculis ejus." There follows a long list of assassinations and acts of the darkest treachery. "Clovis fit périr tous les petits rois des Francs par une suite des perfidies."—Michelet, H. de France, i. 209. The note recounts the assassinations. Throughout, the triumph of Clovis is the triumph of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity over Arianism. "Dominus enim se verè credentibus, etsi insidiante inimico aliqua perdant, his centuplicata restituit; hæretici vero nec acquirunt, sed quod videntur habere, aufertur. Probabat hoc Godigeseli, Gundobaldi, atque Godomari interitus, qui et patriam simul et *animas* perdiderunt."—Prolog. ad lib. iii.

[m] Gregory of Tours ingenuously admits "quod omnes (the Catholic clergy) desiderabili amore cupiverunt eos regnare."—l. ii. 23.

Burgundians or Visigoths. Men impatient of a galling yoke pause not to consider whether they are not forging for themselves another more heavy and oppressive. They panted after release from their present masters, perhaps after revenge for the loss of their freedom and their lands, for their degradation, their servitude, and cared not to consider whether it would not be a change from bad masters to worse. Clovis, it is true, had commenced his career by the defeat of Syagrius, the last Roman who pretended to authority in Gaul, and had thus annihilated the lingering remains of the Empire; but that would be either pardoned or forgotten in the fond hope of some improvement in their condition under the barbarian sway. It was, of course, a deep aggravation of their degraded state that their masters were not only foreigners, barbarians, conquerors—they were Arians. The Franks, as even more barbarous, were more likely to submit in obedience to ecclesiastical dominion; and so it appears that almost throughout the reign of the Merovingian dynasty the two races held their separate functions—the Franks as kings, the Latins as churchmen. The weak prince who was deposed from his throne, or the timid one who felt himself unequal to its weight, was degraded, according to the Frankish notion, into a clerk;[n] he lost his national eminence and distinction, but disqualified by the tonsure from resuming his civil office, according to the sacerdotal notion, he was admitted to the blessed privilege of the priesthood; while at the same time his feeble and contemptible character was a guarantee against his becoming a dangerous rival for the higher honours of the Church. Hence, on the one hand, the unchecked growth of the sacerdotal authority, and the strong Catholicity of the clergy among the Franks, the retention of all the higher offices, at least in the Church, by the Roman Provincials, till they had become of such power, wealth, and dignity, as to rouse the ambition of the noble, and even of the royal families.[o]

[n] Queen Clotilda, when her two sons seized their nephews, her favourite grandsons (the children of Chlodomir), and gave her the choice of their death or tonsure, answered like a Frankish queen, "Satius mihi est, si ad regnum non veniant, mortuos eos videre quam tonsos."—iii. 18.

[o] In the year 566 a certain Meroveus, from whose name he may be concluded

Until that time the two races remained distinct, each in possession of his separate, uncontested function; and each might be actuated by high and noble, as well as selfish and ambitious motives. The honest and simple German submitted himself to the comparatively civilised priest of that God whom he now worshipped—the expounder of that mysterious creed before which he had bowed down in awe—the administrator in those imposing rites to which he was slowly and, as it were, jealously admitted,—the awarder of his eternal doom. On the other the clergy, fully possessed with the majesty of their divine mission, would hold it as profanation to impart its sanctity to a rude barbarian. Not merely would Roman pride find its consolation in what thus maintained its influence and superiority, and look down in compassion on the ignorance of the Teuton—his ignorance even of the language of their sacred records, and of the services of their religion; the Romans would hold themselves the heaven-commissioned teachers of a race long destined to be their humble and obedient scholars.

Effects of conversion on Teutons.

We return to the general view of the conversion of the German races. The effect of this infusion of Teutonic blood into the whole Roman system, and this establishment of a foreign dominant people, of kindred manners, habits and religion, though of various descent, in the separate provinces of the Empire, which now were rising into independent kingdoms, upon the general Christian society, and on the Christianity of the age, demands attentive consideration. Though in each ancient province, and in each recent kingdom, according to the genius of the conquering tribe, the circumstances of the conquest and settlement, and the state of the Roman population, many strong differences might exist, there were some general results, which seem to belong to the whole social revolution. In one important respect the Teutonic temperament coincided with Christianity in raising the moral tone. In

to have been a Frank, appears as Bishop of Poitiers.—Greg. Turon. ix. 40. Compare Planck, Christliche Kirchliche Verfassung, ii. p. 96. It is a century later that, at the trial of Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, are twelve prelates, six Teutons—Ragheremod, of Paris; Landowald, Bayeux; Remahaire, Coutances; Merowig, Poitiers; Melulf, Senlis; Berthran, Bourdeaux. Compare Thierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, the one writer who, by his happy selection and artistic skill, has made the Merovingian history readable (tome ii. p. 135).

all that relates to sexual intercourse, the Roman society was corrupt to its core, and the contagion had spread throughout the provinces. Christianity had probably wrought its change rather on the few higher and more distinguished individuals than on the whole mass of worshippers. Most of these few, no doubt, had broken the bonds of habits and manners by a strong and convulsive effort, not to cultivate the purer charities of life, but in the aspiration after virtue, unattainable by the many. Celibacy had many lofty minds and devoted hearts at its service, but it may be doubted whether conjugal fidelity had made equal progress. Christianity had secluded a certain number from the world and its vices; but in the world itself, now outwardly Christian, it had made in this respect far less impression. Not that it was without power. The courts of the Christian Emperors, notwithstanding their crimes, weaknesses, and intrigues, had been awed, even on the throne, to greater decency of manners. Neither Rome, nor Ravenna, nor Byzantium, had witnessed, they would not have endured, a Nero or an Elagabalus. The females (believing the worst of the early life of the Empress Theodora) were more disposed on the whole to the crimes of ambition, and political or religious intrigue, than to that flagrant licentiousness of the wives and mothers of the older Cæsars. But the evil was too profoundly seated in the habits of the Roman world to submit to the control of religion—of religion embraced at first by so large a portion, from the example of others, from indifference, from force, from anything rather than strong personal conviction, and which had now been long received merely as an hereditary and traditional faith. The clergy themselves, as far as may be judged, did not stand altogether much above the general level. They had their heroes of continence, their spotless examples of personal purity; but though in general they might outwardly submit to the hard law of celibacy, by many it was openly violated, by many more secretly eluded; and, as ever has been, the denial of a legitimate union led to connexions more unrestricted, and injurious to public morality. Scarcely a Provincial Council but finds itself called upon

On moral purity.

to enact more stringent, and, it should seem, still ineffective prohibitions.

German character in this respect.

Whether as a reminiscence of some older civilisation, or as a peculiarity in their national character, the Teutons had always paid the highest respect to their females, a feeling which cannot exist without high notions of personal purity, which it generates, and in its turn tends to generate. The colder northern climate may have contributed to this result. This masculine modesty of the German character had already excited the admiration, perhaps had been highly coloured by the language, of Tacitus, as a contrast to the effeminate voluptuousness of the Romans—marriages held absolutely sacred, and producing the most perfect unity; adulteries rare, and visited with public and ignominious punishment.[p] The Christian teachers, in words not less energetic, though wanting the inimitable conciseness of the Roman annalist, endeavour to shame their Latin brethren by the severity of Teutonic morals, and to rouse them from their dissolute excesses by taunting them with their degrading inferiority to barbarians, heathens, and heretics. Salvian must be heard with some reserve in his vehement denunciation against the licentiousness of the fifth century. He is seeking to vindicate God's providential government of the world in abandoning the Roman and the Christian to the sway of the pagan and the barbarian. "Among the chaste barbarians, we alone are unchaste: the very barbarians are shocked at our impurities. Among themselves they will not tolerate whoredom, but allow this shameful licence to the Romans as an inveterate usage. We cherish, they execrate, incontinence; we shrink from, they are enamoured of purity; fornication, which with them is a crime and a disgrace, with us is a glory."[q] Salvian describes the

[p] "Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant."—Germ. viii. "Quanquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. . . . Ergo septâ pudicitiâ agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ . . . . Nemo . . . illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum videtur. . . . Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament."—xviii. xix.

[q] De Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 66. He draws the same contrast between the Roman inhabitants of Spain and their Vandal conquerors.

different races, who, though in other respects varying in their character, and some more conspicuous than others for these virtues, were all nevertheless far superior to the Romans. The Goths are treacherous, but continent; the Alemanni less treacherous, and also less continent; the Franks false, but hospitable; the Saxons savagely cruel, but remarkable for chastity.[r] The Vandals, if Salvian is to be credited, maintained their severe virtue, not only in Spain, but under the burning sun and amidst the utter depravity of African morals, and in that state of felicity, luxury, and wealth which usually unmans the mind. They not only held in abomination the more odious and unnatural vices which had so deeply infected the habits of Greece and Rome, but all unlawful connexions with the female sex.[s] According to the same authority, they enforced the marriage of the public prostitutes, and enacted severe laws against unchastity, thus compelling the Romans to be virtuous against their will. Under the Ostrogothic kingdom, the manners in Italy might seem to revert to the dignified austerity of the old Roman republic. Theodoric indignantly reproves a certain Bardilas, who had married the wife of an officer (from his name also of Gothic blood) while the husband was absent with the army. He speaks of it as bringing disgrace on the age and on the Gothic character.[t] The Ostrogothic law is silent as to incest and the crime against nature, as if, in its lofty purity, it did not imagine the existence of such offences. This code was for the Goths alone; the Romans were still amenable to their own law.[u] In the

[r] "Gothorum gens perfida sed pudica est, Alemanni impudica sed minus perfida, Franci mendaces sed hospitales, Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate venerandi."—Ibid.

[s] "Et certè ob eâ tantum continentissimi ac modestissimi judicandi erant quos non fecisset corruptiores ipsa felicitas . . . igitur in tantâ affluentiâ rerum atque luxuriâ, nullus eorum mollis effectus est . . . abominati enim sunt virorum improbitates; plus adhuc addo, abominati etiam fœminarum; horruerunt lustra ac lupanaria, horruerunt contactus concubitusque meretricum."—Ibid.

[t] "In injuriam nostrorum temporum, adulterium simulatur, matrimonii lege commissum." The husband's name was Patzena. It is amusing to hear the King of the Goths reminding unchaste women of the fidelity of turtle doves, who pine away in each other's absence, and remain in strictly continent widowhood: "Respicite impudicæ gementium turturum castissimum genus, quod si a copulâ fuerit eam intercedente divisum, perpetuâ se abstinentiæ lege constringit;" and this in a royal or imperial edict.

[u] Sartorius, Essai sur l'Etat des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths (p. 95). "Odious as homicide is, it would be more odious to punish than to commit that crime in certain cases, as in that of open adultery. See

laws of Theodoric the German abhorrence of adultery continued to make it a capital crime; the edict was inexorably severe against all crimes of this class: the seducer or ravisher of a free virgin was forced to marry her, and endow her with a fifth of his estate; if married, he forfeited a third of his property to his victim; if he had no property, he atoned for his crime by death; if the virgin was a slave, the criminal, being a free man, was degraded into a slave of the wife of the maiden's master, if he could not redeem his guilt by supplying two slaves; the rape of a free widow was subject to the capital punishment of adultery. The parents or guardians of a female who had suffered rape were bound to prosecute on pain of exile.

In some provinces, it must be acknowledged, that the vices as well as the religion of Rome assert their unshaken dominion; or rather there is a terrible interchange of the worst parts of each character. It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under her Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism has introduced into Christianity all its ferocity, with none of its generosity or magnanimity; its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty and even of sensuality. Christianity has given to barbarism hardly more than its superstition and its hatred of heretics and unbelievers. Throughout, assassinations, parricides, and fratricides intermingle with adulteries and rapes.[x] The cruelty might seem the mere inevitable result of this violent and unnatural fusion; but the extent to which this cruelty spreads throughout the whole society almost surpasses belief. That King Chlotaire should burn alive his rebellious son with his wife and daughter is fearful enough; but we were astounded even in these times with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he coveted.[y]

we not that rams, bulls, and goats avenge themselves against their rivals? Shall man alone be unable to preserve the honour of his bed? Examine the cause of Candax; if he only killed the adulterers who dishonoured him, remit all his penalties; if he has slain innocent men, let him be punished."—Var. i. 37.

[x] See a fearful summary in Loëbel, Gregor von Tours, pp. 60–74.

[y] iii. 1.

Fredegonde sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clerks. She causes the Archbishop of Rheims to be murdered while he is chanting the service in the church; and in this crime a Bishop and an Archdeacon are her accomplices. She is not content with open violence, she administers poison with the subtlety of a Locusta, or a modern Italian, apparently with no sensual design, but from sheer barbarity.

Merovingian times.

As to the intercourse of the sexes, wars of conquest, where the females are at the mercy of the victors, especially if female virtue is not in much respect, would severely try the more rigid morals of the conqueror. The strength of the Teutonic character, when it had once burst the bonds of habitual or traditionary restraint, might seem to disdain easy and effeminate vice, and to seek a kind of wild zest in the indulgence of lust, by mingling it up with all other violent passions, rapacity and inhumanity. Marriage was a bond contracted and broken on the lightest occasion. Some of the Merovingian kings took as many wives, either together or in succession, as suited either their passions or their politics. Christianity hardly interferes even to interdict incest. King Chlotaire demanded for the fisc the third part of the revenue of the churches; some bishops yielded; one, Injuriosus, disdainfully refused, and Chlotaire withdrew his demands. Yet Chlotaire, seemingly unrebuked, married two sisters at once. Charibert likewise married two sisters: he, however, found a Churchman, but that was Saint Germanus, bold enough to rebuke him. This rebuke the King (the historian quietly writes), as he had already many wives, bore with patience. Dagobert, son of Chlotaire, King of Austrasia, repudiated his wife Gomatrude for barrenness, married a Saxon slave Mathildis, then another, Regnatrude; so that he had three wives at once, besides so many concubines that the chronicler is ashamed to recount them.[z] Brunehaut and Fredegonde are not less famous for their licentiousness than for their cruelty.

[z] "Nomina concubinarum eo quod plures erant, increvit huic chronicæ inseri."—Fredegar. c. 60.

Fredegonde is either compelled or scruples not of her own accord to take a public oath, with three bishops and four hundred nobles as her vouchers, that her son was the son of her husband Chilperic. The Eastern right of having a concubine seems to have been inveterate among the later Frankish kings: that which was permitted for the sake of perpetuating the race was continued and carried to excess by the more dissolute sovereigns for their own pleasure. Even as late as Charlemagne, the polygamy of that great monarch, more like an Oriental Sultan, except that his wives were not secluded in a harem, as well as the notorious licentiousness of the females of his court, was unchecked, and indeed unreproved, by the religion of which he was at least the temporal head, of which the Spiritual Sovereign placed on his brow the crown of the Western Empire. These, however, seem to have been the royal vices of men gradually intoxicated by uncontrolled and irresponsible power, plunging fiercely into the indulgences before they had acquired any of the humanising virtues of advanced civilisation.

In such times the celibacy or even the continence of the clergy was not likely to be very severely observed. The marriage of bishops, if not general, was common.[a] Firmilio had a wife named Clara. There is an account of some strange cruelties practised by a bishop's wife.[b]

Yet clerical incontinence was not without rebuke from above. Gregory tells a strange story of the pax with the consecrated host leaping out of a deacon's hands, and flying through the air to the altar. All agreed that the clerk must be polluted. He confessed, it was said, to several acts of adultery.[c]

If, however, with some exceptions, more especially this great exception of the Frankish monarchs, Christianity

[a] G. T. x. 19. The son of a bishop of Verdun (vi. 35). Daughter of bishop (viii. 32). Compare throughout Loëbel, Gregor von Tours.

[b] Of two hermits (viii. 39), one was drunken, one had a wife!

[c] One priest only, three women, one of whom was Gregory's mother, witnessed this miracle. Gregory was present, but the privilege was not vouchsafed to him. "Uni tantum presbytero, et tribus mulieribus, ex quibus una mater mea erat, hæc videre licitum fuit; cæteri non viderunt. Aderam fateor, et ego huic festivitati, sed hæc videre non merui."—De Glor. Martyr. vol. ii. p. 361.

found an unexpected ally in the higher moral tone of the Teutonic races, the religion in other respects and throughout its whole sphere of conquest suffered a serious, perhaps inevitable deterioration. With the world Christianity began rapidly to barbarise; war was the sole ennobling occupation. Even the clergy, after striving for some time to be the pacific mediators between the conquerors and the conquered; to allay here and there the horrors of war, at times by the awe of their own holiness and that of their religion; to keep the churches during the capture of a city as a safe sanctuary for the unarmed, the helpless, the women, and the children, to redeem captives from slavery, to mitigate the tyranny of the liege lord, who as a Christian, perhaps in the ardour of a new convert, was humbly submissive to their dictates; even the clergy were at length swept away by the torrent. In the fifth century we find bishops in arms, and at the head of fighting men; and though at first the common feeling protested against this desecration, though bearing arms was prohibited by the decrees of councils: yet where, as in some cases, the wars in which they might engage were defensive, and for the preservation of the most sacred rights of man; the step once taken, the sight once familiarised to this incongruous confusion of the armed warrior and the peaceful ecclesiastic, the evil would grow up with fatal rapidity. When the ecclesiastical dignities and honours, from their wealth and authority, began to tempt the barbarians, who would no longer leave them to the exclusive possession of the Romans, those barbarians would be the more disposed to assume them, if they no longer absolutely imposed inglorious inactivity, or humiliating patience. While on the other hand, the barbarian invested in the priesthood would more jealously justify himself for thus, in one sense, descending from his high place as a warrior, by retaining some of the habits and character of the free German conqueror. At length, though at a much later period, the tenure of land implying military service, as the land came more and more into the hands of the clergy, the ecclesiastic would be embarrassed more and more by his double function; till at length we arrive at the Prince

Bishop, or the feudal Abbot, alternately with the helmet and the mitre on his head, the crozier and the lance in his hand; now in the field in the front of his armed vassals, now on his throne in the church in the midst of his chanting choir.[d]

All things throughout this great social revolution tended to advance and consolidate the sacerdotal power. The clergy, whether as among the Goths and other Arian nations, who had their own bishops, or among the Franks, where they were reverenced for their intellectual as well as their spiritual superiority, became more completely a separate and distinct corporate body, filling up their own ranks by their own election, with less and less regard even to the assent of the laity; for the barbarous laity, of another race, ceased to pretend to any share of the election of the clergy. They possessed more completely the power of ecclesiastical legislation. In the confusion and breaking up of all ancient titles to property, more would be constantly falling into their hands. The barbarians for the good of their souls would abandon more readily lands which they had just acquired by the sword, and of which they had hardly learned the value; while the Romans, in perpetual danger of being forcibly despoiled, would more easily make over to the safer custody of Churchmen, lands which under such protection they might more securely cultivate. Already in France the kings are jealous of their vast acquisitions; King Chilperic hated the clergy for this reason, and was hated by them with emulous intensity. He complained that all the wealth of the crown was swallowed up by the Church.[e] The Church

[d] The first bishops who appeared in arms, and actually slew their enemies, shocked Gregory of Tours. "Salarius et Sagittarius fratres atque episcopi qui non cruce cœlesti muniti, sed galeâ aut lanceâ sæculari armati, multos manibus propriis quod pejus est, interfecisse referuntur."—iv. 41. Compare v. 17.—Merovingian France still offers the most startling anomalies. While thus advancing in power, their persons are not sacred in these wild times. The Bishop of Marseilles is exposed to cruel usage. Even the strong feeling of caste has lost its influence. They are murdered and burned with as little remorse as the profane. Gregory, who stands up on some occasions for their inviolability, on others despondingly acquiesces in their fate; if not in its justice, in its being too much in the common order of things to shock public feeling. Some of them, by his own account, richly deserved their doom.

[e] "Aiebat enim plerumque, ecce pauper remanet fiscus noster, ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias translatæ: nulli penitus nisi soli episcopi regnant; perit honos noster, et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum."—vi. 46.

revenged itself by consoling visions of Chilperic's damnation. The jurisdiction of the bishops, at first confined to strictly religious concerns, would gradually extend itself, perhaps from confidence in their superior justice, their intellectual superiority, the absence or the deficiency of the administrators of the Roman law, under which every where the Romans still lived. Where other magistrates were suppressed, or had forfeited or abandoned their functions, they would become the sole magistrates. Causes regarding property, bequests, and others of a more intricate kind, which might perplex the greater simplicity of the barbaric codes, or embarrass the straightforward justice of barbaric tribunals, would be referred to their superior wisdom. The bishops thus gradually became more independent of their college of presbyters; they grew into a separate order in the State as well as in the Church.

Nor can it be wondered that partly in self defence, partly for his own relative aggrandisement, the weaker and conquered Roman, conscious of his intellectual superiority—especially the Roman ecclesiastic—should abuse his power, and make, as it were, reprisals on the rude and ignorant barbarian conqueror.[f] His own religion would become more and more superstitious, for the more superstitious the more awful. Art and cunning are the natural and constant weapons of enfeebled civilisation against strong invading barbarism. Throughout the period the strongest superstitious terrors cross the most lawless and most cruel acts.[g] There are several curious instances in the Frankish annals in which the ecclesiastical kindred speaks more strongly to the alarmed conscience than that of blood to the heart. Those who without compunction murder their nearest relatives, their children or their husband, have some reluctance to shed the blood of those whom they have held over the baptismal font. Brunehaut spares Borthefrid because she has been godmother to his daughter.

[f] The Jews were their rivals in wealth. Cantinus, the cruel Bishop of Tours, has large money dealings with the Jews. Eufranius borrows large sums of the Jews to buy the same bishopric.—iv. 35.

[g] A bishop of Rheims gives a safe conduct under oath on a chest of relics; but having first stolen away the relics, holds the oath not binding.—Fredegar. c. 97. Eichhorn quotes a similar fraud of Hatto, Archbishop of Maintz.—i. p. 514.

The ecclesiastics must have been almost more than men, certainly far beyond their time, to have resisted the temptation of what would seem innocent or beneficent fraud, to overawe or to control the ignorant barbarian.

The good Bishop Gregory of Tours is himself concerned in an affair in which the violence and religious fears of King Chilperic singularly contrast with the subtlety of the ecclesiastics. Chilperic sends a letter to St. Martin of Tours requesting the Saint to inform him whether he might force Meroveus out of the sanctuary. It will hardly be doubted that he received an answer; and that the majesty of the sanctuary suffered no loss. St. Martin of Tours was the great oracle of the Franko-Latin kingdoms:[h] kings flock to his shrine to make their offerings, to hear his judgments. No two cities in the north of France approached, not even the royal residences, the two great ecclesiastical capitals, Rheims and Tours. Lands and wealth were poured at the feet of the Church. Dagobert bestowed twenty-seven hamlets or towns on the monastery of St. Denys.[i] His son bestowed on St. Remaclus of Tongres twelve square leagues in the forest of Ardennes.[k] The Church of Rheims possessed vast territories, some of which it may have received from the careless and lavish bounty of Clovis himself; much more, by a pious anachronism, was made to rest on that ancient and venerable tenure.[m]

[h] Michelet writes in his flashing way, "Ce que Delphes était pour la Grèce."

[i] Gesta Dagobert. c. 35.

[k] This subject is resumed when the clergy are considered as co-legislators with the Teutonic kings and people.

[m] Vit. S. Sigebert. Austras., c. 4. Script. Franc. See the curious passage in Frodoard, quoted by Michelet.

CHAPTER III.

THEODORIC THE OSTROGOTH.

THE Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy shows the earliest, and not the least noble, form of this new society, formed out of the yet unfused elements of the Latin and Teutonic races. To the strong opposition between the barbarian and Roman parts of the community was added the almost stronger contrast of religious difference. The Sovereign of Italy, the civil monarch of the Papal diocese, was an Arian. Ostrogothic kingdom.

Theodoric's invasion of Italy was the migration of a people, not the inroad of an army.[a] His Goths were accompanied by their wives and children, with all the moveable property which they had possessed in their settlements in Pannonia. Theodoric had extorted from the gratitude and the fears of the Eastern Emperor, if not a formal grant of the kingdom of Italy, a permission to rescue the Roman West from the dominion of Odoacer. The Herulian king, after two great battles, and a siege of three years in Ravenna, wrested from Theodoric a peace, by the terms of which the Herulian and the Gothic monarchs were to reign over Italy in joint sovereignty. Odoacer. Such treaty could not be lasting. Odoacer, either the victim of treachery, or his own treacherous designs but anticipated by the superior craft and more subtle intelligence of Theodoric, was assassinated at a banquet.[b] The Herulians were dispossessed of the third portion of the lands which they had extorted from the Roman pro-

[a] Compare, on the number of the Gothic invaders, Sartorius, Essai sur l'Etat Civil et Physique des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths, note, page 242.

[b] The most probable view of this transaction is, that the Herulian chieftains, impatient of the equal dominion of the Goths, had organised a formidabl insurrection, of which Odoacer, possibly not an accomplice, was nevertheless the victim. The Byzantine writers, Procopius, Marcellinus, betray their hatred. Ennodius and Cassiodorus of course favour Theodoric. Gibbon declares against him.

prietors, and dispersed, some into Gaul, some into other parts of the Empire. The Gothic followers of Theodoric took their place, and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, commenced a reign of thirty-three years, in which Italy reposed in peace under his just, and vigorous, and parental administration.

A.D. 493-526.

Throughout the conquest, and the establishment of the Gothic kingdom, the increasing power and importance of the Christian ecclesiastics forces itself upon the attention. They are ambassadors, mediators in treaties, decide the wavering loyalty or instigate the revolt of cities. Even before the expiration of the Empire, Glycerius abdicates the throne, and retires to the bishopric of Salona, not, it should seem, from any strong religious vocation, or weariness of political intrigue. He is afterwards concerned in the murder of another of his short-lived successors, the Emperor Nepos, and is promoted, as the reward of his services, to the Archbishopric of Milan. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Pavia, bears to Theodoric at Milan the surrender and offer of allegiance from that great city. John, the Bishop, was employed by Odoacer to negotiate the treaty of Ravenna.[c] Before this time, whenever a difficult negotiation occurred, Epiphanius was persuaded to undertake it. He had been ambassador from Ricimer to Anthemius, from Nepos to Euric the Visigoth. Theodoric admired the dignified beauty and esteemed the saintliness of character in the Catholic Epiphanius, and perhaps intended that his praises of the bishop should be heard in Pavia, where, from his virtues and charities, he enjoyed unbounded popularity: "Behold a man whose peer cannot be found throughout the West: he is the great bulwark of Pavia;—to his care I may entrust my wife and children, and devote myself entirely to war."[d] Epiphanius was permitted to plead the cause of the Herulians who had risen in arms in the north of Italy after the death of Odoacer. The eloquence of the bishop arrested the inexorable vengeance or justice of Theodoric. He was employed even on a more apostolic mission—to rescue from slavery those who had been sold or had fled into

Bishops employed.

[c] Procop. l. i. c. i. p. 9, Edit. Bonn. [d] Ennodii Vita Epiphan.

slavery beyond the Alps. Gundobald the Burgundian and his chieftains melted at the persuasive words of Epiphanius, who entered Pavia at the head of 6000 bondslaves, rescued by his influence from slavery. Epiphanius made a third journey to Ravenna, to obtain a remission of taxes in favour of his distressed people.[e]

The Ostrogothic kingdom was an intermediate state between the Roman Empire and the barbarian monarchies. It was the avowed object of Theodoric to fuse together the Teutonic vigour with the Roman civilisation, to alloy the fierceness of the Gothic temperament with the social culture of Italy.[f] The Romans still held many of the chief civil offices. Liberius, Symmachus, Boethius, Cassiodorus, were the ministers of the Gothic king. Yet the two elements of the society had no tendency to assimilation or union; the justice and wisdom of the king might mitigate, he could not reconcile, this discord, which could only be finally extinguished by years of mutual intercourse, by intermarriages, and above all by perfect community of religious faith. The Gothic and the Roman races stood apart in laws, in usages, in civil position, as well as in character. Possessors, by the right of conquest, of the one-third of the lands in Italy, of which they exacted the surrender, and for which they tacitly engaged to protect the whole from foreign invasion,[g] the Goths settled as an armed aristocracy among a people who seemed content to

Union of the races

very imperfect.

[e] Ennodius says of Epiphanius,—"Inter dissidentes principes solus esset, qui pace frueretur amborum."—p. 1011. He even overawed the fierce Rugians, at one time masters of Pavia.

[f] "Ii semper fuerint (Gothi, sc.) in laudis medio constituti, ut et Romanorum prudentiam caperent, et virtutem gentium possiderent. . . . Consuetudo nostra feris mentibus inseratur donec truculentus animus vivere velle consuescat."—Cassiod. Var. Epist. iii. 23. In another passage he exhorts the Goths to put on the manners of the toga, and to cast off those of barbarism. "Intelligite homines non tam corporeâ vi quam ratione præferri."—Lib. iii. Epist. 17. When he invaded Gaul, Theodoric declared himself the protector of the Romans: "Delectamur jure Romano vivere quos armis vindicamus. . . . Nobis propositum est, Deo juvante, sic vivere, ut subjecti se doleant nostrum dominium tardius acquisisse."—iii. 43. But the most clear and distinct indication of his views is in the formula for the appointment of the Count of the Goths: "Unum vos amplectatur vivendi votum, quibus unum esse constat imperium." The anonym. Vales. says that the poor Roman (miser) affected to be a Goth, the rich (utilis) Goth to be a Roman.

[g] "Vos autem Romani magno studio Gothos diligere debetis, qui in pace numerosos vobis populos faciunt, et universam rempublicam per bella defendunt."—Cassiod. vii. 3.

purchase their security at the price of one-third of their possessions. This transfer was carried on with nothing of the violence and irregularity of plunder or confiscation, but with the utmost order and equity. It was, in truth, but a new form of the law of conquest, which Rome had enforced, first upon Italy, afterwards on the world. Nor was it an obsolete and forgotten hardship, the expulsion of a free, and flourishing, and happy peasantry from their paternal homesteads, and hereditary fields; they were only like those more partial no doubt, but more cruel ejectments, when the conquering Triumvir, during the later republic, confiscated whole provinces, and apportioned them among his own soldiery.[h] The followers of Odoacer had already, if not to so great an extent, enforced the same surrender, and the Goth only expelled the Herulian from his newly acquired estate. Large tracts in Italy were utterly desolate and uncultivated—almost the whole under imperfect culture.[i] This, in the best times of the Roman aristocracy, had been the natural and recorded consequence of the vast estates accumulated by one proprietor, and cultivated by slaves or at best by poor métayers, and was now aggravated by the general ruin of that aristocracy, the difficulty of maintaining slaves, and the effects of long warfare. This revolution at least assisted in breaking up these overgrown properties, combining as it did with constant alienations to the Church, and afterwards to monasteries. Agriculture in Italy received a new impulse,[k] the more necessary, as it ceased to command foreign resources. The harvests of the East, and of Egypt and Libya, had long been assigned to the main-

Division of lands.

[h] Theodoric considered that he had succeeded to the right of the Roman people in apportioning land: he prohibited the forcible entrance upon farms without authority.

[i] "Vides universa Italiæ loca originariis viduata cultoribus." Read the whole speech of Theodoric to Epiphanius of Pavia on the desolation especially of Liguria.—Ennod. Vit. p. 1014. "Latifundia perdidere Italiam," the axiom of all the Roman economists.

[k] It is curious that most of these edicts prohibit *exportation*. See Lib. i. 31, 34, 35 (a strange document in point of style). Lib. ii. 12, is a prohibition of the export of bacon, an important article of food; 20 gives orders to send corn from Ravenna to Liguria, which was suffering famine. The Gothic army in Gaul was supported by the province, not from Italy (iii. 41, 2), and during a famine Southern Italy and Sicily relieved Gaul (iv. 5, 7). On the other hand, Theodoric endeavoured to obtain corn from Spain for the supply of Rome; but it seems the dealers had found a better market in Africa (v. 35).

tenance of the new capital; and Western Africa, desolated by the Vandals, no longer poured in her supplies. Theodoric watched with parental solicitude the progress of agriculture, and the irregular and uncertain supplies of corn to his Italian subjects, who were now thrown on their own resources. His correspondence is full of orders on this important subject. Italy began to export corn. The price, both of corn and wine, fell to a very moderate amount.[k]

The Gothic king claimed all the imposts formerly paid to the imperial treasury; the Curiæ were still responsible for the collection, but Theodoric inculcated moderation in the exaction of the imperial claims.[m] The Goths appear to have been liable to the same taxes with the Romans.[n] The clergy had as yet no immunities. Theodoric himself aspired to be the impartial sovereign of both races. In him met and blended the Roman and the Goth: in peace he exchanged the Gothic military dress for the purple of the Roman Emperor.[o] He preserved the ancient titles both of the Republic and of the Empire. He appointed Consuls, Patricians, Quæstors, as well as Counts of largesses, of provinces, and some of the more servile titles of the East.[p] The conqueror was earnestly desirous to secure for his Italian subjects the blessings of peace: though his arms were employed in Gaul for thirty out of thirty-three years of his reign, Italy, under his dominion, escaped the ravages of war.[q] The police was so strict throughout Italy, that merchants thronged from all parts. A man might leave his silver or gold as safely on his farm as in a walled city.[r] He bequeathed peace to his successors; he encouraged all the arts of peace. The posts were arranged on a new and effective footing.[s] The

Theodoric.

Peace of Italy.

[k] "Sexaginta modios triticorum in solidum ipsius tempore fuerunt, et vinum triginta amphoræ in solidum."—Anon. Vales. Without ascertaining the exact relative value, we may infer that these were unusually low prices.

[m] Var. i. 19, iv. 19.

[n] iv. 14.

[o] Muratori, Annal. d'Italia, iv. 380.

[p] See the sixth book of the Epistles.

[q] Ennodius says, in Vit. Epiphan.—"Cujus post triumphum spoliatum vagina gladium nullus aspexit."—p. 1012. "Ergo præclarus et bonæ voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est sequuta Italiam per annos xxx. ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset (*Pergentibus* successoribus ejus)"—Wagner's note, Anonym. Vales.

[r] Anonym. Vales.

[s] Epist. i. 29, iv. 47, v. 5.

great roads, the bridges, the ruined walls, and falling buildings were restored to their ancient strength and splendour. Verona, Pavia,[t] above all Ravenna, were adorned with new palaces, porticos, baths, amphitheatres, basilicas, and, doubtless, churches. In the latter city Theodoric avowedly aimed at rivalling the magnificence of Rome; but Rome was not plundered or sacrificed to the new capital. The care of Theodoric was extended to the restoration of her stately but injured edifices.[u] The Cloacæ, which excited the wonder of the barbarians, and distinguished Rome from all other cities, were to be repaired entirely at the public cost.[x] The water from the aqueducts was no longer to be directed to private use, for the turning of mills, or irrigation of gardens, but devoted to the general benefit of the citizens.[y] The prefect of the city and his lieutenant, the Count of Rome, and the public architect[z] were especially charged to keep up the forests of stately buildings, the statues which peopled the city, the herds of equestrian images. In these terms the barbarians expressed their astonishment at the yet inexhausted treasures of art in the imperial city. The florid panegyric of Theodoric describes the aged city as renewing her youth; noble edifices were completed nearly as soon as planned. Theodoric is almost a second Romulus —as it is greater to ward off the fall, than to have commenced the foundations of a city.[b]

[t] Anonym. Vales. This writer, in his admiration of the golden age of Theodoric, declares that he did not repair the gates of the cities, as, being now never closed, the inhabitants entering and going out by night as well as by day, they had become of no use. "Hoc per totam Italiam augurium habebat, ut nulli civitati portas faceret."

[u] Var. i. 21. Compare ii. 34.

[x] Var. iii. 30. [y] Var. iii. 31.

[z] On the general policy of Theodoric in this respect, "Decet principem cura, quæ ad rempublicam præstat augendam, ei verè dignum est regem ædificiis palatia decorare. Absit enim ut ornatui cedamus veterum, qui impares non sumus beatitudini sæculorum."—Var. i. 6. "Decora facies imperii, testimonium præconiale regnorum."—Var. vii. 5.

[a] "Mirabilis sylva mænium, populus statuarum, greges equorum."—Var. vii. 5: compare vii. 13, 16. These latter are the formularies for the appointment of the Comes Romanus, and the architect of the public works.—Ennod. apud Sirmond. p. 967.

[b] Theodoric commands marmorarii to be sent from Ravenna to Rome: these were workers in mosaic (we hear nothing of painters or sculptors), which art the barbarians seem to have especially admired. "Qui eximiè divisa conjungunt et venis colludentibus illigata naturalem faciem laudabiliter mentiantur. . . . De arte veniat, quod vincat naturam, discoloria crusta marmorum gratissimâ picturarum varietate texantur."—Var. i. 6.

When Theodoric appeared in Rome, the Emperor might seem to revive in greater power and majesty than he had displayed since the days of Theodosius the Great. The largesses of corn were distributed, though to a smaller population, with a liberality which rivalled the earlier days of the Empire.[c]

Though himself taking no pleasure in savage or idle amusements, the barbaric king, considering such subjects not quite beneath the care of the sovereign, perhaps not without some politic design to occupy the proud and turbulent metropolis, indulged his subjects with their ancient spectacles, in such pomp, as to recall the famous names of Trajan and Valentinian.[d] The gladiators alone had been suppressed by the influence of Christian opinion; and even if humanity had not won this triumph, Rome had no longer barbarian captives, whom she could devote to the carnage of these mimic wars. But the arena was still open to the combats of wild beasts.[e] The pantomimes, of which alone Theodoric speaks with interest, were frequent and splendid.[f] The chariot races were attended with all the old passionate ardour, and the contending colours were espoused with fanatic zeal by the opposite factions, on which the Sovereign, though he did not condescend to take a part, looked with indulgence. He allowed the utmost licence to the expression of public feeling, and strongly reproved the officious or haughty interference of the Senate for attempting to repress this legitimate freedom.[g]

But Theodoric, in his religious character, is the chief object of our study. The Christian sovereign must find his proper place in the history of

Theodoric's religious rule.

[c] Anonym. Vales. Compare the formulary for the appointment of the Præfectus annonæ.

[d] Anonym. Vales. The edicts are prefaced with a kind of apology. "Licet inter gloriosas reipublicæ curas . . . . pars *minima* videatur, principem de spectaculis loqui, tamen pro amore reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has cogitationes intrare."—Var. i. 20.

[e] Var. v. 42, where the feritas spectaculi is reproved. Among Theodoric's buildings is mentioned an amphitheatre at Pavia.

[f] He calls it a wonderful art, which is often more expressive than language. —Var. i. 20.

[g] "Mores autem graves in spectaculo quis requirit? Ad Circum nesciunt convenire Catones."—i. 27. It is evident that the senate and the people had taken different sides. The senators are reproved for introducing their armed slaves among the audience. On the other hand, the complaint of a senator of personal insult was to be carried before the prætorian præfect. There is a remarkable tone of good-humoured moderation in all the edicts: compare Var. i. 27, 30 to 33.

Christianity. The King of the Ostrogoths not merely held together in peace and amity the two races, the Roman and the barbarian, but even the Orthodox and the Arian reposed throughout his reign, if not in friendly quiet, at least without any violation of the public peace.

It was fortunate, perhaps, that in a state so divided, the Sovereign was of the religion of the few. He escaped the temptation to persecute, since it would have been idle to suppose that he could persuade or compel so strong a majority to embrace his detested opinions. If the wise spirit of toleration had not led him to moderate measures, the good sense of the Sovereign would have compelled him to respect the inveterate tenets of the larger, the more intellectually powerful part of his subjects. Still, though his Byzantine education might have warned Theodoric against the danger, if the Sovereign should plunge too deeply into ecclesiastical affairs, his forbearance was nevertheless extraordinary, considering the all-searching, all-pervading activity of his administration; and that the religious supremacy had been so long a declared prerogative of that Imperial power, which had now passed into his hands. Imperial edicts since the days of Constantine had been solicited, respected, enforced by the hierarchs so long as they spoke the dominant doctrine; they had become part of the code of the Empire; even when adverse to the prevailing opinion, they had been always supported by one faction at least, and received with awe by the more indifferent multitudes. The doctrine that the clergy, the bishops, or the Roman Pontiff, were the sole legislators of Christianity, was so precarious and undefined, that we still cannot altogether withhold our admiration from the wisdom of Theodoric. The Arianism, indeed, of the Goths had not the fresh ardour or burning zeal of recent proselytism. It was a kind of religious accident, arising out of their first conversion, which happened to take place during the reign of an Arian Emperor, and through Arian missionaries. It had settled into a quiet hereditary faith. There was no peculiar congeniality in its tenets with the Teutonic mind, which was rather disposed to receive what it was taught with implicit faith; and, though

no doubt averse to the subtleties of the Greek theology, neither comprehended; nor cared to comprehend, these controversies. It was content to adhere to the original creed,[h] or, possibly, might feel some pride in differing from the abject race, over which it asserted its civil and military superiority.

The serene impartiality of Theodoric's government in religious affairs extorts the praise of the most zealous Catholic.[i] He attempted nothing against the Catholic faith. Towards the close of the Gothic monarchy, the royal ambassadors to Belisarius defied their enemies to prove a case in which the Goths had persecuted the Catholics.[k] Theodoric treated the Pope, the Bishops, and Clergy, with grave respect: in the more distinguished, such as Epiphanius, he ever placed the highest esteem and confidence. We shall behold him showing as much reverence, and even bounty, to the Church of St. Peter, as though he had been a Catholic. The poor who were dependent on that Church were maintained by his liberality.[m] The Arian clergy also shared in the tolerant sentiments of their King. Of their position, character, influence; of the churches they built or occupied; of their services, of their processions, of their ceremonies; of any aggression or intrigue on their part; of any collision, which we might have supposed inevitable with the Latin clergy, history, and history entirely written by the Catholics, is totally silent; and that silence is the best testimony, either to their unexampled moderation, as the religious teachers of the few indeed, but those few the conquerors and rulers, or to the wiser policy of the King, which could constrain even honest religious zeal. Theodoric himself adhered firmly but calmly to his native

Theodoric's impartiality.

[h] Salvian is inclined to judge the heresy of the barbarians with charity; perhaps that he might inveigh more fiercely against the vices of the Catholic Romans. "Barbari quippe homines, immo potius humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino sciunt, nisi quod a doctoribus suis audiunt, quod audiunt, sic sequuntur . . . hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes."—De Gubernat. Dei, lib. v.

[i] "Nihil contra religionem catholicam tentans," thus writes the anonymous historian, himself a devout Catholic. Ennodius, in praising the religion, forgets the Arianism of Theodoric.—Paneg. p. 971. Anonym. Vales.

[k] Procop. de bell. Gothic. ii. c. 6.

[m] Procop. Hist. Arcan., p. 145, edit. Bonn.

Arianism; but, all the conversions seem to have been from the religion of the King; even his mother became a Catholic;[n] and some other distinguished persons of the court embraced a different creed without forfeiting the royal favour.[o] Theodoric was the protector of Church property,[p] which he himself increased by large grants.[q] This property, with some exceptions, was still liable to the common imposts. His wise finance would admit no exemptions, but in gifts he was prodigal to magnificence. The clergy were amenable to the common law of the Empire, and were summoned before the royal courts (the stern law would not be eluded) for all ordinary crimes;[r] but all ecclesiastical offences were left to the ecclesiastical authorities.[s] Nor, although the Herulian Odoacer had claimed and exercised the right of confirming the Papal election, did Theodoric interfere in those elections until compelled by the sanguinary tumults which distracted the city. Even then he interfered only as the anxious guardian of the public peace, and declined the arbitration between the conflicting claims, which both parties, hoping for his support, endeavoured to force on the reluctant monarch.

The feuds of the Roman clergy, which broke out on the customary occasion of the election of a new Pope,

[n] "Mater Theodorici, Erivileva dicta, catholica quidem erat quæ in baptismo Eusebia dicta."—Anonym. Vales.

[o] Note of Valesius to Anonym. at the end of Wagner's Ammianus Marcellinus, page 399.—Var. x. 34 a. 26. These cases belong to the successors of Theodoric. With Gibbon, I reject the story of his beheading a Catholic priest for turning Arian in order to gain his favour! It is most probable that the man had been guilty of some capital crime, and sought to save his life by apostacy. It was not improbably either Theodorus or Count Odoin, who had formed a conspiracy against him in Rome, and was beheaded for his treason: compare Hist. Miscel., p. 612.

[p] Var. iv. 17, orders to his general Ibas in Gaul to restore certain lands to the Church of Narbonne.

[q] "If," he writes to Count Geberic, "in our piety, we bestow lands on the church, we ought to maintain rigidly what she possesses already."—Var. iv. 20.

[r] Januarius, Bishop of Salona, is sued for a debt, though for lights for the church; a Bishop Peter for the restitution of an inheritance; the Priest Laurence for sacrilegious violation of a tomb in search of treasure; Antony, Bishop of Pola, for the restitution of a house: compare Du Roure, Hist. de Théodoric, i. p. 358.

[s] See the celebrated privilege accorded to the clergy of Rome by Athalaric.—Var. viii. 24. This, however, was no more than arbitration. "Exceptos a tramite justitiæ non patimur inveniri."—Cassiod. ii. 29. Yet Theodoric, from respect, was unwilling to punish a priest. "Scelus quod nos pro sacerdotali honore relinquimus impunitum."—iv. 18.

and brought them to the foot of their Arian sovereign, may be traced back to a more remote source. Anastasius, as has been seen, during his short pontificate, had deviated into the paths of peace and conciliation. He had endeavoured by mildness, and by no important concession (he insisted not on the condemnation of Acacius), to reunite the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. This unwonted policy had apparently formed two parties in the Roman clergy, one inclined to the gentler measures of Anastasius, the others to the sterner and more inexorable tone of his predecessors. Each party elected their Pope, the latter the Deacon Symmachus, the former the Archpresbyter Laurentius.[t] The rival Pontiffs were consecrated on the same day, one in the Lateran Church, the other in that of St. Mary. At the head of the party of Laurentius, stood Festus or Faustus Niger, the chief of the Senatorial order. He had been the ambassador of Theodoric at Constantinople, to demand the acknowledgment of the Goth as King of Italy. He had succeeded in his mission; perhaps had been prevailed upon to attempt the reconciliation of the two Churches, either by persuading the acceptance of the Henoticon by the Roman clergy, or more probably on the terms of compromise approved by Pope Anastasius. The two factions encountered with the fiercest hostility; the clergy, the senate, and the populace were divided; the streets of the Christian city ran with blood, as in the days of republican strife.[u] The conflicting claims of the prelates were brought before the throne of Theodoric. The simple justice of the Goth decided that the bishop who had the greater number of suffrages, and had been first consecrated, had the best right to the throne. Symmachus was acknowledged as Pope: he held a synod at Rome which passed two memorable decrees, one almost in the terms of the old Roman law, severely condemning all ecclesiastical

A.D. 498. Contested election for the Popedom.

Dec. 22. A.D. 499.

[t] Anastasius died Nov. 17.—Muratori, sub ann.

[u] Each party charged the other with these cruelties. The author of the Hist. Miscell. asserts that Festus and Probinus, of the party of Laurentius, slew in the midst of Rome the greater part of the clergy and a great number of citizens: a fragment of a writer on the other side (published by the impartial Muratori) ascribes these acts of violence, slaughter, and pillage, with many other vices, to Symmachus. Compare Annal. d'Ital. sub ann. 498.

ambition, all canvassing, either for obtaining subscriptions, or administration of oaths, or promises for the papacy during the life time of the Pope;[u] the other declared the election to be in the majority of the clergy, thus virtually abrogating the law of Odoacer. Laurentius (the rival Pope was present at this synod) subscribed its decrees,[v] and returned to the more peaceful, perhaps to a wise man, the more enviable bishopric of Nocera.

Theodoric in Rome. March A.D. 499.

During this interval of peace, Theodoric for the first time visited the imperial city. He was met by Pope Symmachus at the head of his clergy, by the Senate, which still numbered some few old and famous names, Anicii, Albini, Marcelli, and by the whole people, who crowded with demonstrations of the utmost joy around their barbarian sovereign. Catholic and Arian, Goth and Roman, mingled their acclamations. Theodoric performed his devotions in St. Peter's with the fervour of a Catholic. In the Senate he swore to maintain all the imperial laws, the rights and privileges of the Roman people. He celebrated the Circensian games, in commemoration of all his triumphs, with the utmost magnificence; ordered a distribution of one hundred and twenty bushels of corn annually to the poor, and set apart two hundred pounds of gold for the restoration of the imperial palace. The Bishop Fulgentius, witness of the splendour of Theodoric's reception, breaks out into these rapturous words: "If such be the magnificence of earth, what must be that of the heavenly Jerusalem!"[x] Theodoric remained in Rome six months, and then returned to Ravenna.

Charges against Symmachus.

During all this period, and the three or four following years, the faction of Laurentius were watching their opportunity to renew the strife.[y] Fearful charges began to be rumoured against Symmachus, no

[u] It was the language of the law de Ambitu, applied to ecclesiastical distinctions. It is enacted "propter frequentes ambitus quorundam, et ecclesiæ puritatem, vel populi collisionem, quæ molesta et iniqua incompetenter episcopatum desiderantium generavit aviditas." —Labbe, Concil., p. 1313.

[v] Baronius sub ann. Muratori has some doubts.

[x] Anonym. Vales. Vita B. Fulgentii.

[y] There are two accounts of these transactions,—one that of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, or the anonymous papal biographer, favourable to Symmachus; the other the anonymous Veronensis, published by Muratori. I have endeavoured to harmonize them. Both agree that some years elapsed between the accession of Symmachus and this new contest.

less than adultery,[z] and the alienation of the property of the see. Faustus, his implacable adversary, with the Consul Probinus and great part of the Senate, supported these criminations. The accusation was brought before the judgment seat of Theodoric, supported by certain Roman females of rank, who had been suborned, it was said, by the enemies of Symmachus. Symmachus was summoned to Ravenna, and confined in Rimini. But finding the prejudices in Ravenna darkening against him, he escaped and returned to Rome. Laurentius had also secretly entered the capital. The sanguinary tumults between the two factions broke out with greater fury; priests were sacrilegiously slain, monasteries fired, and even sacred virgins treated with the utmost indignity. The Senate petitioned the King to send a visitor to judge the cause of the Pontiff. A royal commission was issued to Peter, Bishop of Altino. But instead of a calm mediator between the conflicting parties, or an equitable judge, the visitor threw himself into the party of Laurentius.[a] The possessions of the Church were, in part at least, seized and withholden from Symmachus; he was commanded to give up the slaves of his household that they might be examined,[b] it should seem, by torture according to the ancient usage.[c]

Tumults in Rome.

A.D. 503.

Theodoric, still declining the jurisdiction over these ecclesiastical offences, summoned a synod of Italian prelates to meet at Rome. The synod held two successive sessions, and throughout their proceedings may be traced their consciousness of their embarrassing position, which is increased as the reports of these proceedings have passed through later writers.[d]

Synods of Rome.

[z] Anonym. Veron.—confirmed by Ennodius, p. 1366.

[a] Ennod. Apologet. pro Synod., p. 987.

[b] This corresponded with the two heads of accusation. The former provided against the alleged alienation of the church property, the latter referred to that of adultery.

[c] This is a remarkable fact, in the first place, showing that slaves formed the household of the Pope, and that, by law, they were yet liable to torture. This seems clear from the words of Ennodius, "Sed, credo, replicabitis: veritatem quam sponte prolata in illis vox habere non poterat, hanc diversis cruciatibus e latebris suis religiosus tortor exegerat, ut dum pœnis corpora solverentur, quæ gesta fuisse noverat anima non celaret." Ennodius is so obscure and figurative that he may seem to say, in the next sentence, that this proceeding was illegal, perhaps contrary to the canons. He appears to consider it most contumelious that ecclesiastics should be judged on servile evidence.

[d] The whole question of the number and dates of the synods held at this time

They were assembled under the authority of a layman, an heretical sovereign, too powerful to be disobeyed, and acting with such cautious dignity, justice, and impartiality as to command respect. They were assembled to judge the supreme Pontiff, the Metropolitan of the west, the asserted, and by most acknowledged, head of Christendom. Symmachus himself had the prudence to express his concurrence in the convocation of this synod. At the first session he set forth to attend the Council. He was attacked by the adverse party, showers of stones fell around him; many presbyters and others of his followers were severely wounded; the Pontiff himself only escaped under the protection of the Gothic guard. The final, named the Palmary, synod was held in some edifice or hall in the palace called by that name; of this assembly the accounts are somewhat more full and distinct. Throughout appears the manifest struggle in the ecclesiastical senate between the duty of submitting to the King, who earnestly urges them to restore peace to Rome and to Italy, and the reluctance to assume jurisdiction over the Bishop of Rome. Some expressions intimate that already the Bishop of Rome was held to be exempt from all human authority, and could be judged by God alone. If the Pope is called in question the whole episcopacy of the Church is shaken to its foundation.[e]

Decree of the Palmary Synod.

Symmachus, however, had the wisdom to suppress all jealousy of a Council[f] whose authority alone could com-

is inextricably obscure. I chiefly follow Muratori. The synodus palmaris is usually considered the fourth. One, in all probability two, were held by Symmachus before this new strife. The fourth was apparently a continuation of the third, but held in a different place—unless the third was one held by Peter of Altino.

[e] "In sacerdotibus cæteris potest, si quid forte nutaverit, reformari: at si papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus videbitur, non jam episcopus, vacillare." —Avit. ad Senat. apud Labbe, p. 1365. Avitus uses this argument to the senators of Rome, "Nec minus diligatis in ecclesiâ nostrâ sedem Petri, quam in civitate apicem mundi;" but Avitus acknowledges all priests, even the Pope, to be amenable to secular tribunals, of course for secular offences, "quia sicut subditos nos esse terrenis potestatibus jubet arbiter cœli; staturos nos ante reges et principes in *quacunque accusatione* prædicens; ita non facile datur intelligi, qua vel ratione, vel lege ab inferioribus (inferior in ecclesiastical order) eminentior judicetur."

[f] "Judicia et iste voluit, amavit, attraxit, ingressus est; et quod posset fideli corda doloris justi aculeis excitare, venerando concilio etiam contra se si mereretur, indulsit."—Ennod., p. 981.

pletely clear him of these formidable accusations, and which he probably knew to be favourably impressed with his innocence. With the full authority of a synod of one hundred and twenty bishops he resumed the pontifical throne, without having compromised his dignity by thus condescending to their jurisdiction. In the wording of the sentence the Council claims at once the authority of the Holy Ghost, yet confines the justification of Pope Symmachus to immunity and freedom from censure before men;[g] it leaves to the secret counsel of God the ultimate decision which they might not presume to pronounce;[h] nevertheless, with inconsistency, which it is difficult to understand, they seem to grant permission to the Pope to offer the divine mysteries to the Christian people in all the churches of his jurisdiction.[i]

Affairs of the East.

Content with having restored peace to the Roman see, Theodoric kept aloof from the religious dissensions which brooded in deepening darkness over the east. The Gothic king was devoting himself, dare we not say, to the more Christian office of maintaining the peace, securing the welfare, promoting the civilisation, lightening the financial burthens of his people,[k] in exer-

[g] "Quantum ad homines respicit (quia totum causis obsidentibus superius designatis, constat arbitrio divino fuisse dimissum) sit immunis et liber, et Christianæ plebi sine aliquâ de objectis oblatione, in omnibus ecclesiis suis, ad jus sedis suæ pertinentibus, tradat divina mysteria."—Labbe, p. 1325.

[h] Considering the horror in which the crime of adultery was held in an ecclesiastic, we can scarcely suppose, either that the severe Theodoric would not have driven him from his presence, or that an assemblage of prelates would have attempted to shield a pontiff, of precarious and disputed title, without full and conclusive evidence of his guiltlessness.

[i] The decisions of this synod were indeed impeached by the enemies of Symmachus, and Ennodius found it necessary to vindicate them in an apology, as he thought, eloquent, and therefore in parts altogether unintelligible, at least so as to give but obscure glimpses of the facts. He would seem, perhaps only figuratively, to retort the charge of adultery against the partisans of Laurentius.—p. 992. At the close, Ennodius personifies Rome, who has still some compunctious feelings for the inevitable damnation of all her older heroes. "Quæ Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos misi, plurimæ prolis infœcunda mater, ad Tartarum, dum exhaustis emarcui male fœta visceribus; quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Deciis multo sudore gloria parta nil præstitit: profligata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis juncta est, æqui observantissimus Scipio." p. 993, apud Sirmond.

[k] "Sensimus auctas illationes, vos addita tributa nescitis. Ita utcumque sub admiratione perfectum est, ut et fiscus crescebat, et privata utilitas nulla damna perferret."—Var. ii. 16. The panegyric of Ennodius must be read with that reserve which these *eloquent* adulations suggest; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Ennodius was a Catholic and a bishop.

cising for the benefit of Italy, the virtues of wisdom, justice, and humanity. His foreign wars in Pannonia, with a horde of the Bulgarian race, in Gaul, in defence of his kindred the Visigoths against the ambitious Franks, brought fame to the king, without disturbing the repose, or interrupting the progress of improvement in Italy. Far different was the state of the East; the long religious quarrel in which the Emperor Anastasius had been engaged, had shaken its throne to the base, it needed only a successful insurrection to degrade it to still lower humiliation.

The Pope Symmachus watched no doubt with profound interest the holy war which had now broken out in the East. The polemic controversies had become the causes or pretexts of revolt and battles. The formidable Scythian Vitalianus (with whom Theodoric had some political connexion on account of the hostilities in which he had been involved on the Dacian frontier with the Eastern empire) raised the standard of rebellion and of orthodoxy against the aged Anastasius. Symmachus did not live to witness the sad latter years of the Emperor Anastasius; the revolt of Vitalianus; the hollow peace on the hard conditions of religious submission; the full acceptance of the council of Chalcedon, the restoration of the exiled Catholic Bishops, and the summoning an Œcumenic Council at Heraclea. His successor Hormisdas [m] reaped the fruits of the humiliation of the eastern Emperor, and became, though at first the vassal, at least the humble subject of the Arian Theodoric, the dictator of the religion of the world Anastasius in his helpless state sought the mediation not of the civil but of the religious sovereign of Italy. He might justly fear Theodoric, himself had once some years before entered into suspicious alliance with Clovis the Frank, he had meditated or threatened a descent on the coast of Italy. The Emperor addressed a letter to Hormisdas, the fame of whose mild disposition tempted him to renew a correspondence broken off by the harshness of former Popes. But Hormisdas, while he warmly approved the Emperor's disposition to peace and

Pope Hormisdas.

A.D. 509.

[m] Hormisdas, Pope from July, 514, to Aug. 6, 523.

unity, declined this flattery at the expense of his predecessors. Yet, on the whole, the language of the Pope's reply was moderate, neither dissembling nor asserting in too haughty terms the pretensions of his See. The proposed Council of Heraclea came to nothing; a Council in the East, under present circumstances, suited the policy neither of the Pope,[n] nor of the Emperor. Four ambassadors, the Bishops Ennodius and Fortunatus, the Presbyter Venantius, with Vitalis a deacon, set forth in the name of Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople. Their instructions are extant, a remarkable manual of ecclesiastical diplomacy in a nice and difficult affair. In the questionable and divided state of the Eastern clergy, especially of Constantinople, as to orthodoxy, the ambassadors were to receive their personal advances with decent courtesy, lest the episcopal character should be lowered in the estimation of the laity; but to avoid all intimate intercourse with men, who might at least be heretics; to receive no presents, not even provisions, only means of conveyance; to incur no obligations, and to decline all invitations to feasts, until they could all meet together at the great feast of the Holy Eucharist. In Constantinople they were to go at once to the lodgings provided by the Emperor, but to avoid all intercourse with their own partisans, till they had presented their credentials to the Emperor.[o] Besides these credentials they were armed with letters to Vitalianus, letters however so cautiously worded, that they might acknowledge the possession of them, and though steadily declining to surrender them to the Emperor, might permit them to be read to Vitalianus in the presence of an imperial commissioner. Their instructions, how they were to fix the wavering Emperor, and extort concession after concession, are marked with the same subtle and dexterous

July 8, 515.

Papal Embassy to Constantinople.

[n] The story in Theophanes as to the perfidy of Anastasius in these proceedings, is altogether inconsistent with the whole course of events, as appears from existing documents.

[o] There was a preliminary caution that, as it was customary in Constantinople for all persons admitted to the emperor on ecclesiastical business to be presented by the bishop, they were to omit, if possible, receiving this courtesy from Timotheus, and if he should officiously thrust himself in the way, and enforce the right of presentation, to declare that they were directly accredited to the emperor alone.

policy. They were to demand, I., his unequivocal assent to the Council of Chalcedon, and to the letters of Pope Leo. If he yielded this point, they were to express their gratitude and kiss his breast, and then, II., to require him to demand the same assent from all the clergy of the East. If he should assert the general orthodoxy of the clergy, and their disposition to quiet submission, if affairs had not been thrown into confusion by certain unadvised letters of Pope Symmachus, they were to declare that those letters, now in their hands, contained only general exhortations to accept the Council of Chalcedon. They were to press this point with prayers and tears, to remind the Emperor of God, and of the day of judgment. Should the Emperor reply, "What would you have? I receive the Council of Chalcedon, and the letters of Leo;" they were to elude any assent to this protest, unless he would issue his imperial letters, *compelling* a general union with the Church of Rome. Should the Emperor say, "Will you then receive the Bishop of Constantinople into communion?" Here was the nicest point of all, to avoid the recognition of either of the contending prelates, and so to bring the absolute nomination of the Bishop of Constantinople under the cognisance of the proposed Council, over which Council was to preside the representative of Rome. The instructions even anticipate a dangerous objection, which might occur to Anastasius, that the rival prelate, Macedonius, was a notorious heretic. This, they were to rejoin, is a question to be calmly considered when the Church is restored to unity. "What, should the Emperor say, is my city to be without a bishop?" "The canons," they are to answer, "provide remedies for such a difficulty." But these inexorable terms were not all. Anastasius was not only to be compelled to be a persecutor. Besides the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, and the Leonine letters by the Emperor, and the compulsory enforcement of obedience from the clergy, were demanded from the Emperor, as to be ratified by the Council. III. The public anathema of Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, and also of their followers, (the maintainers of the Henoticon,) Timotheus Aelurus, Peter of Alexandria, Acacius, for-

merly Bishop of Constantinople, and Peter of Antioch. IV. The immediate recall from exile of all ecclesiastics in communion with Rome, the causes of their respective banishments to be examined by the Apostolic See. V. The judgment of those accused of persecuting the Catholics to be in like manner submitted to the court of Rome. On the full acceptance of these terms, Hormisdas consented to honour the future Council with his personal presence, not to deliberate but to ratify his own solemn determinations.

But Anastasius was not reduced so low as to submit to these debasing conditions. The condemnation of Acacius was unpopular at Constantinople, the memory of the Bishop dear and sacred to a large party. Anastasius chose this point of resistance. He accepted on his own part the Council of Chalcedon, but why should the living be kept excommunicated from the Church on account of the dead? The terms of Hormisdas could not be enforced without much bloodshed.[p] The embassy A.D. 507. returned to Rome. Anastasius continued to temporise. An imperial embassy appeared in Rome, accredited to the Senate as well as to the Pope. It entreated the intervention of that venerable body with the glorious Theodoric to unite the afflicted Christian Church and Empire. Hormisdas treated these lay ambassadors, who presumed to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, with supercilious contempt. The churches of Illyria, of which the opinions had as yet hung in doubt, had now given their unqualified adhesion to Hormisdas and the Council of Chalcedon. Far from retracting, he rose in his demands; he condescended indeed to send a second legation, Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, and Peregrinus, Bishop of Misenum, to Constantinople. His answer by them was a vehement and implacable invective against the memory of Acacius.[q] That bishop's communion with the followers of Dioscorus and of Eutyches infected him with their most heinous guilt. All who hated those heretics, must hate Acacius. The

[p] "Grave esse clementia nostra judicat de ecclesiâ venerabili propter mortuos vivos expelli, nec sine multâ effusione sanguinis scimus posse ea, quæ super hoc scribitis, ordinari." — Epist. Anastas. Labbe, p. 1432.

[q] Epistola Hormisdæ apud Labbe.

crime of Acacius was darker than that of the original authors of the heresy. The condemnation of Acacius, the unpardonable Acacius—Acacius who had claimed equality with the Pope—was now the only obstacle to the peace between Eastern and Western Christendom, a consummation to which the West, even the remotest Gaul (so wrote Hormisdas, alluding to the Catholic Franks) looked forward with eager interest. Anastasius was now more secure upon his throne, his formidable subject, Vitalianus, had lost his power. To his honour, he would not abandon even the memory of Acacius, who had been guilty only of firmly carrying out the Emperor's scheme of toleration; he broke off all further communicaton with the merciless Prelate. "We may submit to insult, we may endure that our decrees be annulled, but we will not be commanded."[r] Hormisdas must await the accession of a new Emperor Justin, before the Churches of Rome and Byzantium are reunited by the sacrifice of him, who besides his communion with Eutychians, had dared to equal himself with the successor of St. Peter."

But with the age and decay of Anastasius the strength of the Chalcedonian party increased rapidly. Timotheus, the Bishop of Constantinople, gave hopes at least, that he would secure himself by timely concession. Hormisdas addressed encouraging letters to the Catholic bishops, and though Anastasius ventured to punish with severity certain monks who strove to stir up rebellion, he dared not to resent this treasonable correspondence with his subjects. The monks in Syria, of that party, appealed from the Emperor, whom they accused of contemptuously rejecting their humble supplications for protection and redress against their rivals, whom they accused of massacring their brethren in the church, to the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.[s]

The strife ended with the death, if we are to believe Baronius, the damnation of Anastasius. The death of an old man, at least of eighty-one, more likely eighty-eight years of age, was ascribed to the visible vengeance of God.

[r] Epist. Anastas. Labbe, p. 1460.
[s] Relatio Archimandrit. et Monach. ii. Syriæ apud Labbe, 1461.

There was a terrible tempest, and that tempest transported away the affrighted soul of the Emperor, or struck him dead by its lightning. His death was revealed to a saint at a great distance, who communicated the awful fact to three of his brethren, intimating at the same time that he himself was summoned to appear before the tribunal of God within ten days, to bear witness against the Emperor.[1] This Elias departed before the end of ten days on his charitable errand, so necessary to enlighten Omniscience as to the deeds of a mortal man. So deeply had the passion of hatred, offering itself to the heart in the garb of religious zeal, infected the Christian mind, that Cardinal Baronius, reviving the inexorable resentment which had slept for centuries, calls upon the Church to sing a hymn of rejoicing over this new Pharaoh, this Emperor, thus, for his resistance to the Pope, judged, damned, and thrust down into hell.

Justin, a rude unlettered Dacian peasant, seized the throne of Constantinople; and there was an instantaneous religious revolution in the Byzantine court and city, and throughout the East. Justin, though ignorant, was known to be of unbending orthodoxy. Only six days after his proclamation, the Emperor, July 15. with his wife Lupicina, who had been his slave and concubine, and who took the more decorous name of Euphemia, entered the great church. The populace broke out in acclamations, Long life to the new Constantine and the new Helena. Their clamours ceased not with these loyal expressions: "Away with the Manicheans, proclaim the Council of Chalcedon." They demanded the degradation of Severus of Antioch, immediate reconciliation with Rome, and even that the bones of the Manicheans (the Emperor Anastasius and his party) should be torn up from their sepulchres. John of Cappadocia, the Patriarch of Constantinople, a man of servile mind, though unmeasured ambition, had acquiesced without remonstrance in all the measures of Anastasius. He now ascended the pulpit, declared his adhesion to the four great Councils, especially that of Chalcedon. The populace summoned

Accession of Justin. July 9, 518.

[1] Baronius, sub ann. 518, with his authorities.

him to utter his anathema against Severus; the Prelate obeyed. The next day was celebrated a festival in honour of the Council of Chalcedon. John of Cappadocia hastily assembled a Council of forty bishops, which confirmed all the demands of the rabble; Justin ratified their decrees by an imperial edict, commanding the recall of all the exiled bishops, and the expulsion of those who had usurped their sees. A second edict disqualified all heretics from holding civil or military office. The whole East followed the example of the capital, and became orthodox with the orthodox Emperor. Heraclea, Nicea, Nicomedia, Gangra, Jerusalem, Ptolemais, Tyre, restored the Chalcedonian bishops. Antioch shook off the yoke of Severus. Thessalonica and Alexandria alone made resistance, but were awed into submission. The death of the Eunuch Amantius, who had aspired to dispose of the empire, which he could not usurp himself; by whose gold, entrusted to him for other purposes, Justin had bought the crown; had been demanded as a sacrifice by the populace, and was readily conceded by Justin, his treason being aggravated by his notorious Manicheism. Theocritus, whom he had intended to raise to the empire, shared his unpopularity and his doom. But Vitalianus, the pillar of orthodoxy, met no better fate; he was treacherously invited to Constantinople, promoted to the highest dignity, and in the seventh month of his consulate assassinated by the agents of Justinian, the Emperor's nephew, now clearing the way for his own accession to the throne. Even before these necessary precautions for the security of his reign the zealous Emperor had opened negotiations with Rome.[n] All opposition shrunk away. Hormisdas had the satisfaction not merely of compelling, by the aid of the Emperor, the whole East to accept his theologic doctrines, but his anathemas also of the living and of the dead. At the demand of his legates, the names of Acacius, and all who communicated with him, those of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs. John the Patriarch vainly struggled to save the blameless names of Euphemius and Macedonius

Close of the schism.

[n] The first letter of Justin was dated August 1; the second, September 7.

from the same ignominy: they were included with the rest (they were severely orthodox, but they had been guilty of acknowledging Acacius and his successor as legitimate patriarchs);[x] yet, nevertheless, the East has continued to reverence them as of undoubted orthodoxy. John however contrived a happy expedient to elude the direct recognition of the supremacy of Rome, by declaring that the Churches of old and new Rome were one. He assumed, by the permission of Justin, the yet pregnant title of œcumenic Patriarch. So closed the schism which had lasted for thirty-five years. Latin and Greek Christianity held again one creed—East and West at peace. March 28, A.D. 519.

Theodoric had stood aloof, whether in contemptuous indifference, or, as he might suppose, intent on nobler objects, from all these intrigues, embassies, and negotiations. He left his subject, the Bishop of Rome, to assert, as he might, his ecclesiastical superiority over Constantinople; to league with the rebellious subjects of Byzantium against the eastern Emperor; to treat with Justin almost as an independent sovereign. Theodoric was now at the height of his fame and power, his kingdom of its peace and felicity. His dominion extended without rival, without opposition, from the Alps to Calabria. His sovereignty extended over the ancient provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, and some large adjacent, if not distinctly bounded territories; over the whole south of France, and even parts of Spain. But not all the victories, not all the virtues, not the wisdom, justice, and moderation of Theodoric, nor the prosperity of Italy under his rule, could secure his repose, or enable him to close his reign without strife, injustice, persecution, and bloodshed. His firm character might overawe the elements of civil dissension, the jealousy of the two races which formed his subjects, and the feeble impatience of Rome under the barbarian sway. It was religious strife, which broke up the quiet of his life and reign, and perhaps, by embittering his temper in the decline of his days, by awakening suspicions not altogether groundless, and fears not without Theodoric at the height of prosperity.

[x] Compare Walch, vii. p. 109.

warrant, led to the crimes, which have so deeply sullied his memory, the death of Boethius and of Symmachus. Notwithstanding the natural repugnance of the Romans to a foreign sway, and the secret dissatisfaction with which the Catholicism. Emperor of the East must have beheld the West altogether severed from the Roman Empire, yet Theodoric the Goth might have lived and ruled, and transmitted his sceptre in peace to his posterity; but an orthodox empire would not repose in unreluctant submission under an Arian. It was the unity of the Church, upon the accession of Justin, which endangered his government. Heresy, at the head of a prosperous kingdom, and a powerful fleet and army in the West, had commanded respect, so long as Eutychianism, or the no less odious compulsory toleration of the Henoticon, sate on the throne of Constantinople. Catholicism had concentered all its hatred on the Manicheans, as they were called, who refused the Council of Chalcedon; but no sooner were those dissensions healed, than it began to resent, to look with holy jealousy upon, and to burn with fiery zeal against the older heterodoxy; it would no longer brook the equality of the detested Arians.

The first aggression was confined to the East. Justin A.D. 523. in a terrible edict commanded all Manicheans to leave the empire on pain of death; all other heretics, who were ranked with pagans and Jews, were incapacitated for all civil and military offices, excepting the Goths, and other foreign soldiers in the service of the empire.[y] The exception might seem intended to lull the jealousy of Theodoric; yet the Arians of the East could not but see that this, hard measure as it was, was only the beginning of the persecution; they looked to the Sovereign of Italy for protection, for the continued enjoyment of that tacit exemption which they had long enjoyed, from the intolerant rigour in force against other heretics. It was precisely at this juncture that rumours were spread abroad of dangerous speeches—at least concerning their independence of the Gothic yoke, of the assertion of the liberties of Rome —having been ventured in the capital. Vague intelligence

[y] Theophanes. Cedrenus in loc.

reached Ravenna, of an actual and wide-spread conspiracy which involved the whole Senate; but of which Albinus, the most distinguished of the Roman patricians, was the head. Indignation, not without apprehension, at this sudden, and, as it appeared, simultaneous movement of hostility, seized the soul of Theodoric. The whole circumstances of his position demand careful consideration. Nothing could be more unprovoked than the religious measures of Constantinople, as far as they menaced the West, or assailed the kindred of Theodoric in the East, or even those who held the same faith. His equity to his Catholic and Arian subjects was unimpeachable; to the Pope he had always shown respectful deference; he had taken no advantage of the contention for the Pontificate to promote his own tenets. Even as late as this very year, he had bestowed on the Church of St. Peter two magnificent chandeliers of solid silver. But the Catholics resented, no doubt, the unshaken justice with which Theodoric had protected the Jews.[y] At Rome, at Milan, and at Genoa the Jews had been attacked by the irrepressible hostility of the Catholics: their synagogues had been burned or destroyed, or their property unjustly seized. Theodoric compelled the restoration of the synagogues at the public expense. The Catholics had taken the pretext of the demolition of a small chapel dedicated to St. Stephen at Verona, probably for the fortification or embellishment of the city, as another indication of aggression on the part of Theodoric.[z] These were slight but significant signs of the growing hostility. Nor was it in the East alone that Catholicism menaced the life of Arianism. The Council of Epaona, in Burgundian Gaul, at which bishops from the territories of Theodoric had met, had passed severe canons closing the churches of the Arians.

Rumours of conspiracies.

A.D. 523. Of Theodoric's reign 31.

The Jews.

Though Clovis was now dead, orthodoxy was still the battle-cry of the Franks; in all the Gothic kingdoms the government might dread the prayers, if not the more active interference of the Catholic clergy on the side of their enemies.

[y] Hist. of the Jews, v. iii. p. 115.

[z] Gibbon supposes that Theodoric may have been anathematised from the pulpit of that chapel.

It was in connexion with the bad feeling, which caused and was no doubt aggravated by the demolition of the chapel in Verona, that Theodoric took the strong measure of totally disarming the Roman population. He prohibited them from bearing any offensive weapons; the only instrument permitted was a small knife for the common purposes of life.

State of Theodoric's family.

No less doubtful and menacing was the aspect of civil affairs. The heir of Theodoric was a child. His gallant son-in-law Eutharis, the hopeful successor to his valour, his wisdom, as well as his religious opinions was now dead. Notwithstanding all her virtues and her accomplishments, Amalasuntha, his only daughter, as a female could hardly cope with the difficulties of the times, sole guardian of a boy-king. Theodoric knew that the Emperor of the East in his pride, still considered the barbarian king as his vassal, as originally holding Italy by his grant, and so, no doubt, claimed the power of revoking that grant. The Goths might be safe from hostile aggression, so long as the aged Justin, who was sixty-eight years old at his accession, occupied the throne: but he could not be ignorant of the character, the unmeasured and unscrupulous ambition, the unbending orthodoxy of Justinian. Theodoric's prophetic sagacity might well anticipate the events, which in a few years would not merely endanger, but extinguish the Italian kingdom of the Goths.

It was at this juncture, when the Emperor of the East might be at least suspected of designs, if he had not committed overt acts, in order to recover and reunite the severed empire; when he might seem to be enlisting all the religious and all the Roman sympathies of Theodoric's subjects in a kind of initiatory treason, in a deep, if yet silent and inactive dissatisfaction, that these dark rumours began to spread of secret intelligence between the senate of Rome and the East. Men, it is asserted by Boethius himself, of infamous character, yet who had held, and who afterwards held high offices of trust and honour, accused Albinus, the chief of the Senate, of disloyal correspondence with Constantinople.

Albinus was the friend of Boethius. Boethius the senator, the patrician, the descendant and head of the noble Anician family, who connected himself with the old republic by the name of Manlius; the philosopher, the theologian, the consummate master of all the arts and sciences known at that period, had been raised to the highest civil honours; not only had he himself received the ensigns of the Consulate, but the father had seen his two sons in the same year raised to that honour, which still maintained its traditionary grandeur in the Roman mind. On the day of their inauguration, Boethius, too, pronounced a panegyric on his munificent Gothic sovereign, and displayed his own magnificence by distributing a noble largess to the people at the games. In his public capacity Boethius had declared himself the protector of the Romans against the oppressions of Theodoric's ministers. He had repressed the extortions of Cunegast, the more violent tyranny of Treguella, the chamberlain of Theodoric's household—(these names betray their Gothic origin). By a dangerous exercise of his authority he had rescued many unfortunate persons from the rapacity of the barbarians; he had saved the fortunes of many other provincials from private exaction, and from unjust and inordinate taxation. He had opposed the Prætorian Præfect in certain measures, by which a famine in Campania would have been greatly aggravated; on this act he had received the public approbation of the King. He had plucked Paullinus, a man of senatorial rank, from the very jaws of those hounds of the palace, who had already in hope devoured his confiscated estate. Such, according to Boethius himself, were his merits towards his own countrymen, the causes of the hostility towards him among the Gothic courtiers of Theodoric. And even under the rigid equity of Theodoric, such abuses might be almost inevitable in that form of society. Boethius hastened to Verona to confront the accuser Cyprianus, the great referendary, when he heard the accusation of treason against Albinus,[a] and in

Boethius.

Charges against Albinus.

[a] Gibbon says that Albinus was only accused of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. The Anonym. Vales. declares the charge to have been of treasonable correspondence with the East.

the face of the Emperor declared, "If Albinus is criminal, I and the whole Senate are equally guilty." The generous boldness of Boethius awoke no admiration or sympathy in the heart of Theodoric. Instead of saving his friend, Boethius was involved in his ruin. Three persons, one of whom Basilius (according to Boethius) had been dismissed ignominiously from the royal service, and whom poverty drove to any crime; two others, Opilio and Gaudentius, who had been exiled, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of a church, and had been threatened, if they should not leave Ravenna in a certain number of days, with branding in the forehead, were admitted as witnesses against Boethius. He was accused of more than hoping for the freedom of Rome. His signature, forged as he declared, was shown at the foot of an address, inviting the Emperor of the East to reconquer Italy.[b] Boethius was refused permission to examine the informers. He admits the latent, but glorious treason of his heart. "Had there been any hopes of liberty, I should have freely indulged them. Had I known of a conspiracy against the King, I should have answered in the words of a noble Roman to the frantic Caligula. You would not have known it from me." The King, now, in the words of Boethius, eager to involve the whole Senate in one common ruin,[c] condemned Boethius to imprisonment. He was incarcerated in Calvenzano, a castle between Milan and Pavia.[d]

Correspondence between East and West.

In the mean time the religious affairs of the East became more threatening to the kinsmen, and to those who held the same religious creed with Theodoric. The correspondence between the monarchs had produced no effect. Theodoric had written in these words to Justin:—"To pretend to a dominion over the conscience, is to usurp the prerogative of God;

[b] The specific charges against Boethius were, that he had endeavoured to maintain inviolate the authority of the senate; that he had prevented an informer from forwarding certain documents inculpating the senate to the king; that he had been privy and assenting to an address from the senate to the Emperor of the East.

[c] Avidus communis exitii.

[d] The narrative of these events is perplexed by making, as many writers (following the Anonym. Vales.) have done, the death of Boethius immediately consequent upon his imprisonment. But he had time during that imprisonment to write the De Consolat. Philosophiæ.

by the nature of things the power of sovereigns is confined to political government; they have no right of punishment but over those who disturb the public peace;[e] the most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates himself from part of his subjects, because they believe not according to his belief." Golden words! but mistimed above twelve hundred years.

Justin coolly answered, that he pretended to no authority over men's consciences, but it was his prerogative to entrust the public offices to those in whom he had confidence; and public order demanding uniformity of worship, he had full right to command the churches to be open to those alone who should conform to the religion of the state. The Arians of the East were thus stripped of all offices of honour or emolument, were not only expelled from the Catholic churches, but their own were closed against them, and they were exposed to all the insults, vexations, and persecutions of their adversaries, who were not likely to enjoy their triumph with moderation, or to repress their conscientiously intolerant zeal. Great numbers, who held but loosely to their faith, conformed to the state religion; the more sincere appealed in the strongest terms to the protection of Theodoric. The King of Italy at first maintained something of his usual calm moderation; he declined all retaliation, to which he had been incessantly urged, on the orthodox of the West. He determined on an embassy to Constantinople to enforce upon the Eastern Emperor the wisdom of mutual toleration; the ambassador whom he selected for this mission of peace was the Pope himself, not the vigorous Hormisdas, but John the Ist. who had quietly succeeded to the See of Rome on the death of that Prelate.[f] This extraordinary measure shows either an overweening reliance in Theodoric on his own power, or a confidence magnanimous, but equally unaccountable, a confidence bordering on simplicity, that for his own uninterrupted exercise of justice, humanity, and moderation he had a right to expect the return of fidelity and gratitude. Could he fondly suppose that the loyalty of the Pope would be

Theodoric sends Pope John to Constantinople.

[e] Cassiod. ii. 6, iii. 28.

[f] John, Pope, August 13, A.D. 523.

proof against the blandishments of the Eastern court, that the Bishop of Rome would be zealous in a cause so directly at issue with his own principles? The Pope summoned to Ravenna, was instructed to demand of Justin the re-opening of their churches to the Arians, perfect toleration, and the restoration to their former faith of those who on compulsion had conformed to the Catholic religion.[g] To the Pope's remonstrances and attempts to limit his mediatorial office, to points less unsuited to his character, Theodoric angrily replied, by commanding the envoys instantly to embark on the vessels which were ready for the voyage.[h] The Pope, attended by five other bishops and four senators, set forth on a mission of which it was the ostensible object to obtain indulgence for heretics, heretics under the ban of his Church, heretics looked upon with the most profound detestation.

Hitherto the Pope had remained in his unmoved and stately dignity within his own city. Excepting in the case of the exiled Liberius, he had hardly ventured further than the court of Ravenna, or on such a service as that of Leo to the camp of Attila. The Pope had not even attended any of the great Councils. Aware, as it might almost seem, that much of the awe which attached to his office, arose from the seat of his authority, he had but rarely departed from the chair of St. Peter; and but recently Hormisdas had demanded the unconditional submission of the Emperor of Constantinople to his decrees, as the price of his promised condescension to appear at a Council in that city.

Pope John in Constantinople. March 30, 525.

The Pope was received in Constantinople with the most flattering honours, as though he had been St. Peter himself. The whole city, with the Emperor at its head, came forth to meet him with tapers and torches, as far as ten miles beyond the gates. The Emperor knelt at his feet and implored his benediction. On Easter day he performed the service in the great Church, Epiphanius the Bishop ceding the first

[g] This seems the meaning of the sentence in the Anonym. Vales. "ut reconciliatos hæreticos in catholicâ restituat religione."—p. 626.

[h] Their names in the Anonym. Vales.

place to the more holy stranger. It was hinted in the West that the Pope had placed the crown on the head of Justin. But of the course and the success of his negotiations all is utterly confused and contradictory. By one account, now abandoned as a later forgery, he boldly confirmed the Emperor in the rejection of all concessions, and himself consecrated all the Arian Churches for Catholic worship.[i] By another, he was so far faithful to his mission, as to obtain liberty of worship, and the restitution of their Churches to the Arians. The Emperor refused only the restoration of those Arians who had embraced the Catholic faith.[k] All that is certainly known is, that John the Pope on his return was received as a traitor by Theodoric, thrown into prison, and there the highest ecclesiastic of the West languished for nearly a year, and died. But before his return, the deep and wide spread conspiracy, which Theodoric had discovered, or supposed that he had discovered, led to the death of a far greater man, Boethius, and subsequently to that of the virtuous father-in-law of Boethius, the Senator Symmachus. Boethius had lightened the hours in his dreary confinement by the composition of his famous book, the Consolation of Philosophy, the closing work of Roman literature. Intellectually, Boethius was the last of the Romans, and Roman letters may be said to have expired with greater dignity in his person, than the Empire in that of Augustulus. His own age might justly wonder at the universal accomplishments of Boethius. Theodoric himself, writing by the hand, and no doubt in the pedantic language of his minister Cassiodorus, had paid homage to his knowledge. "Through him Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, Archimedes the mechanician, had learned to speak the Roman language." Boethius had mingled in theologic controversy, had discussed the mysterious question of the Trinity, without any suspicion of heresy, and

Imprisonment and death of John. May 18, 526.

Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy.

[i] Baronius rested this on a suppositious letter of Isidorus Mercator; this letter is exploded by Pagi, sub ann. 526.

[k] Anonym. Vales. p. 627. Histor. Miscell. apud Muratori.

steered safely along the narrow strait between Nestorianism and Eutychianism. He is even said, for a time, to have withdrawn to the monastic solitudes, and to have held religious intercourse with Benedict of Nursia, and his followers. All this constitutes the extraordinary, the peculiar character of the Consolation of Philosophy, which appears as the last work of Roman letters, rather than as eminent among Christian writings. It is equally surprising that in such an age and by such a man, in his imprisonment and under the terrors of approaching death, Consolation should be found in Philosophy rather than in Religion; that he should have sought his examples of patience in Socrates with his hemlock cup, or among the arguments of the Garden or the Porch, rather than in the Gospel or the Legends of Christian martyrdom. From the beginning of the book to the end, there is nothing distinctly Christian; its religion is no higher than Theism; almost the whole might have been written by Cicero in exile, or by Marcus Antoninus under some reverse of fortune. The long and enduring popularity of the Consolation of Philosophy during the dark ages completes the singular and anomalous character of the work itself.

Death of Boethius.

This all-accomplished, all-honoured man was not only torn away from his library, inlaid with ivory and glass, from the enjoyment of ample wealth and as ample honour, from the esteem of his friends and the love of his family, left to pine in a remote and lonely prison, and then released by the public executioner—the manner of his death, if we are to trust our authorities, was peculiarly inhuman. He was first tortured, a cord was tightly twisted round his forehead, whether or not to extort confession of his suspected treason; and he was then beaten to death with a club.[m]

Symmachus.

Nor was the vengeance of Theodoric satiated with the blood of Boethius. Theodoric, dreading the influence of Symmachus, the head of the Senate, a man of the highest virtues; and suspecting, lest, in his indignation at the death of his son-in-law, he should engage or had engaged in some desperate plot against the Gothic king.

[m] Anonym. Vales. p. 626.

dom, summoned him to Ravenna, where his head was struck off by the executioner.[n] This was fol- May 18, 526.
lowed by the imprisonment of Pope John, and his death. Throughout these melancholy scenes, the historian is reduced to a sad alternative. He must suppose either that the clear intellect and generous character of Theodoric had become enfeebled by age; his temper soured by the sudden and harassing anxieties, which seemed to break so unseasonably on the peace of his declining years, and the ingratitude of his Roman subjects for above thirty years of mild and equitable rule; those subjects now would scarcely await his death to attempt to throw off the yoke, and would inevitably league with the East against his infant heir. Theodoric, therefore, blinded by unworthy suspicions, yielded himself up to the basest informers, and closed a reign of justice and humanity, with a succession of acts, cruel, sanguinary, and wantonly revengeful. Or on the other hand, he must conclude, that notwithstanding his protestations of innocence, Boethius and his friends, dazzled by patriotic visions of the restoration of the Roman power, or, what is less likely, considering the philosophic tone of his religion, by orthodox zeal, had tampered at least with the enemies of the existing government; and that the Roman Senate looked forward in more than quiet prophetic hope, in actual traitorous correspondence, to that invasion from the East, which took place not many years after the death of Theodoric. Both views are perhaps true. Theodoric was a father, a Goth. Kings discriminate not between the aspirations of their subjects for revolt, and actual plans for revolt; they are bound to be far-sighted; their vision becomes more jealously acute, the more remote and indistinct the objects; treason in men's hearts becomes treason in act. On the other hand, insolent Roman vanity, stern religious zeal, were not likely to be coldly, timorously prudent: desires, hopes would find words; words eager hearers, hearers become informers; and informers are not too faithful reporters. Goths, Arians, courtiers, might, even with no dishonest or sinister intent, hear conspiracy in every boast of Roman freedom, in every reminiscence of Roman pride.

[n] Anonym. Vales., p. 627.

Theodoric was now in his 74th year; almost the last act of his reign was the nomination of the successor of John. His interposition was enforced by the fierce contentions which followed the death of that prelate. His choice fell on Felix, a Samnite, a learned and a blameless man. But the clergy and the people, who were agitated with strife, threatening the peace of the city, and a renewal of the bloody scenes at the election of Laurentius and Symmachus, united in stern resistance to the nomination, in which they had been allowed no voice.[o] Theodoric in his calm wisdom came to an agreement to regulate future elections—an agreement, which in theory subsisted, till the election of the Pope was transferred to the College of Cardinals. The Pope was to be chosen by the free suffrages of the clergy and people, but might not assume his office till confirmed by the sovereign. For his confirmation the Pope made a certain payment to be distributed among the poor. On this understanding the clergy and the city acquiesced in the nomination of Pope Felix.[p]

Pope Felix, A.D. 526. Consecrated July 12.

Theodoric died in the month following the peaceful accession of Felix to the Pontifical throne. The glory of his reign passed from the memory of man with the peace and prosperity of Italy. But the hatred of his heretical opinions survived the remembrance of his virtues. He is said to have committed to a Jew, named Symmachus Scolasticus, the framing of an edict, for the expulsion of the Catholics from all their churches;[q] a statement utterly irreconcileable with his judicious and conciliatory conduct on the election of the Pope. Theodoric, it was observed, died by the same disease which smote the heresiarch Arius in the hour of his triumph. The Greek historian of the Gothic war, who may be taken as representing the Byzantine aversion to the memory of Theodoric, has described him as dying in a terrific agony

Death of Theodoric. Aug., 526.

[o] Cassiod. Var. viii. 15. This nomination was absolute. Athalaric writes thus: "Oportebat enim arbitrio boni principis (Theodorici) obediri, qui sapienti deliberatione pertractans, quamvis *in aliená religione*, talem visus est pontificem delegisse, ut nulli merito debeat displicere. . . . Recepistis itaque virum, et divinâ gratiâ probabiliter institutum, et regali examinatione laudatum."

[p] He took quiet possession of the throne July 12, 526.

[q] Anonym. Vales.; Agnell. in Vit. Pontefic. Ravennat.

of remorse at his own crimes. A large fish was placed before Theodoric at his supper. The King beheld in it the gory head of Symmachus, with the teeth set and gnawing the lower lip, and the eyes rolling in a fierce frenzy, and sternly menacing his murderer. Theodoric, shivering with cold, rushed to his chamber; he called for more clothes to be heaped upon his bed, but nothing could restore the warmth of life; he sent for his physician, and bitterly, and in an agony of tears, reproached himself with the death of Symmachus and of Boethius.[r] He died a few days after; and even Procopius adds, that these were the first and the last acts of injustice committed by Theodoric against his subjects. But later visionaries did not the less pursue his soul to its eternal condemnation; he was seen by an hermit hurled by the ministers of the divine retribution into the volcano of Lipari: volcanoes in those days were believed to be the openings to hell.[s] Fate after death.

Ravenna still, among the later works of Justinian and the Byzantine Exarchs, preserves some memorials of the magnificence of Theodoric. Of his stately palace remain but some crumbling and disfigured walls. Byzantine art has taken possession of his churches; Justinian and Theodora still dimly blaze in the gold and purple of the mosaics.[t] The monument of Theodoric, perhaps the oldest work of Christian art, is still entire, marking some tendency to that transition from the Roman grandeur of bold and massy arches to the multiplicity of mediæval details. Yet in these remains nothing can be traced which realises those singular expressions of Cassiodorus, so prophetic it might seem of what was afterwards characteristic of the so-called Gothic architecture—the tall, slender, reed-like pillars, the lofty roof supported, as it were, by clustered lances.[u]

[r] Procop. de bello Gothico, i. pp. 11, 12.

[s] Gregor. i. Dialog. iv. 36. On this work, see hereafter.

[t] If we may trust a passage in Agnelli (Vit. Pontific. Ravenn. apud Muratori, iii. p. 95), the church of San Vitale, erected in a city the capital of an Arian sovereign, was unequalled in its splendour, we presume in the West. It cost 26,000 golden solidi. Taking the golden solidus (according to Dureau de la Malle, Economie Polit. des Romains, i. p. 46) at 15 francs 10 c., about 12*s.* 6*d.*, between £15,000 and £16,000.

[u] "Quid dicimus columnarum junceam proceritatem. . . . Erectis hastilibus contineri moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum."—Cassiod. viii. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

JUSTINIAN.

History scarcely offers a more extraordinary contrast than that between the reign and the character of the Emperor Justinian. Under the nephew, colleague, and heir of Justin, the Roman Empire appears suddenly to resume her ancient majesty and power. The signs of a just, able, and vigorous administration, internal peace, prosperity, conquest, and splendour surround the master of the Roman world. The greatest generals, since the days perhaps of Trajan, Belisarius and Narses appear at the head of the Roman armies. Persia is kept at bay, during several campaigns if not continuously successful, yet honourable to the arms of Rome. The tide of barbarian conquest is rolled back. Africa, the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, Sicily, Italy, with the ancient Capital, are again under the empire of Rome; the Vandal kingdom, the Gothic kingdom fall before the irresistible generals of the East. The frontiers of the empire are defended with fortifications, constructed at enormous cost;[x] but become necessary now that Roman valour had lost its spell of awe over the human mind; and that the perpetual migrations and movements from the North and the East were continually propelling new and formidable nations against the boundaries of the Roman world. Justinian aspires to be the legislator of mankind; a vast system of jurisprudence embodies the wisdom of ancient and of imperial statutes, mingled with some of the benign influences of Christianity, of which the author might almost have been warranted in the presumptuous vaticination, that it would exercise an unrepealed authority to the latest ages. The

Empire of Justinian. A.D. 527.

[x] Procopius de Ædificiis, passim. The first book describes the ecclesiastical buildings of Constantinople; the rest the fortifications and defensive buildings throughout the empire.

cities of the empire are adorned with buildings, civil as well as religious, of great magnificence and apparent durability, which, with the comprehensive legislation, might recal the peaceful days of the Antonines. The empire, at least at first, is restored to religious unity: Catholicism resumes its sway, and Arianism, so long its rival, dies out in remote and neglected congregations. In Spain alone it is the religion of the sovereign.

The creator of this new epoch in Roman greatness, at least he who filled the throne during its creation, the Emperor Justinian, unites in himself the most opposite vices, —insatiable rapacity and lavish prodigality, intense pride and contemptible weakness, unmeasured ambition and dastardly cowardice. He is the uxorious slave of his empress, whom, after she had ministered to the licentious pleasures of the populace as a courtezan, and as an actress, in the most immodest exhibitions (we make due allowance for the malicious exaggerations in the secret history of Procopius), in defiance of decency, of honour, of the remonstrances of his friends, and of religion, he had made the partner of his throne. In the Christian Emperor seem to meet the crimes of those, who won or secured their empire by the assassination of all whom they feared, the passion for public diversions, without the accomplishments of Nero or the brute strength of Commodus, the dotage of Claudius. Constantinople might appear to retrograde to paganism. The peace of the city and even the stability of the empire are endangered not by foreign invasion, not at first by a dangerous rival for the throne, nor even by religious dissensions, but by the factions of the Circus, the partisans of the Blue and of the Green, by the colours worn in the games by the contending charioteers. Justinian himself, during the memorable sedition, the Nike, had nearly abandoned the throne, and fled before a despicable antagonist. "The throne is a glorious sepulchre," exclaimed the prostitute whom he had raised to that throne, and Justinian and the empire are saved by her courage. This imperious woman, even if from exhaustion or lassitude she discontinued, or at least condescended to disguise those vices which dishonoured her husband, in her cruelties

knew no restraint. And these cruelties, exercised in order to gratify her rapacity, if not in sheer caprice, as a substitute for that excitement, which had lost its keenness and its zest, are almost more culpable indications of the Emperor's weakness. This meanness of subservience to female influence becomes the habit of the court, and the great Belisarius, like his master, is ruled and disgraced by an insolent and profligate wife. Nor do either of them, in shame, or in conscious want of Christian holiness, stand aloof from the affairs of that religion, whose precepts and whose spirit they thus trample under foot. Theodora, a bigot without faith, a heretic, it might almost be presumed, without religious convictions, by the superior strength of her character domineers in this as in other respects over the whole court, mingles in all religious intrigues, appoints to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, sells the Papacy itself. Her charities alone (if we except her masculine courage, and no doubt that great ability which mastered the inferior mind of her husband) if they sprung from lingering womanly tenderness, or that inextinguishable kindness which Christianity sometimes infuses into the hardest hearts, if they were not designed as a deliberate compromise with heaven for her vices and cruelties, may demand our admiration. The feeling which induced the degraded and miserable victim of the lusts and contempt of men to found, perhaps, the first penitentiaries for her sisters in that wretched class, as it shows her superior to the base fear of awakening remembrances of her own former shame, may likewise be considered as an enforced homage to female virtue. Even in Theodora we would discover the very feeblest emotions of Christianity. Justinian aspires too to be the legislator not of the empire alone,[z] but of Christendom, enacts ordinances for the whole Church; and unhappily, not content with establishing the doctrines of Nicea and Chalcedon as the religion of the Empire, by his three Chapters replunges Christendom into religious strife.

The reign of Justinian, during the period between the

[z] I have studied, besides the ordinary authorities, a life of Justinian by Ludewig.—Hal. Salic. 1731. To the great lawyer the vices and weaknesses of Justinian are lost in admiration of his jurisprudence.

death of Theodoric and the conquest of Italy, was occupied by the Persian and African wars, and the commotions arising out of the public games in Constantinople. The only event which commands religious interest is the suppression of the schools in Athens. That last vain struggle of Grecian philosophy against Christianity, which had so signally failed even with an Emperor Julian at its head; that Platonic theism which had endeavoured to give new life to paganism, by enlisting the imagination in its service, and establishing a sensible communication with the unseen world; which, in order to command the innate superstition of mankind, had allied itself with magic; and which still (its better function) promulgated noble precepts of somewhat dreamy morality; was not allowed to expire like a worn-out veteran in peaceful dignity. It was forcibly expelled from the ancient groves and porches of Athens, where recently, under Proclus, it had rallied, as it were, for a last gleam of lustre; it was driven out by the impatient zeal of Justinian. Seven followers of Proclus, it is well known, sought a more hospitable retreat in Persia; but the Magianism of that kingdom was not much more tolerant than the Christianity of the East. Philosophy found no resting place; and probably few of her disciples could enjoy the malicious consolation which might have been drawn from the manner in which she had long been revenging herself on Christianity by suggesting, quickening with her contentious spirit, and aiding with all her subtleties of language those disputes, which had degraded the faith of Jesus from its sublime, mc al, and religious dictatorship over the human mind.

Persian and African wars. A.D. 526-533.

Suppression of Schools at Athens.

Justinian, when he determined to attempt the reconquest of Africa, might take the high position of the vindicator of the Catholics from long, cruel, and almost unrelenting persecution. The African Catholics had enjoyed a short gleam of peace during the reign of Hilderic, who had deviated into toleration, unknown to the Arianism of the Vandals alone; he had restored about two hundred bishops to their churches. The Catholics might behold with terror the overthrow of

the just Hilderic by the stern Gilimer, and might reasonably dread a renewal of the dark days of the great persecutors, of Thrasimund and of Hunneric. The voices of those confessors, who are said to have spoken clearly and distinctly after their tongues had been cut out down to the root; who might be heard to speak publicly (for one of them was a deacon) by the curious or the devout in Constantinople itself, might excite the compassion and animate the zeal of Justinian.[a] The frugal John of Cappadocia, the minister of Justinian, remonstrated against an expedition so costly and so uncertain in its event as the invasion of Africa. His apprehensions seemed justified by the disastrous and ignominious failure of that under Basiliscus. But John was silenced by a devout bishop. The holy man had seen a vision, which commanded the Catholic Emperor to proceed without fear to the rescue of his Catholic brethren. Africa, subdued by the arms of Belisarius, returned at once under the dominion of the empire and of Catholicism. The Vandal Arianism had made no proselytes among the hereditary disciples of Cyprian and Augustine, the hearers of Fulgentius and of Augustine's scholars. Persecution had its usual effect, when it stops short of extermination; it had only strengthened the inflexible orthodoxy of the province. One imperial edict was sufficient to restore all the churches to the Catholic worship. Donatism, which still survived, though included under the same condemnation, was endowed with more obstinate vitality, and was hardly extinguished before the final disruption of Africa from the great Christian system by Mahommedanism.

Conquest of Africa. A.D. 533.

The Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, in the meantime, was declining through internal dissension; the inevit-

[a] This is the one post-apostolic miracle which appears to rest on the strongest evidence. If we are to trust Victor Vitensis, we cannot take refuge in the notion, that their speech was imperfect. Of one at least, the Deacon Restitutus, he asserts that he spoke both clearly and distinctly. The words of Procopius are ἀκριφνεῖ τῇ φωνῇ. If we listen to Æneas of Gaza, it is equally impossible to recur to the haste, or slovenly execution of the punishment by the barbarian executioner: he states, from his own ocular inspection, that the tongue had been torn away by the roots.—Victor Vitens. v. 6; Ruinart, p. 483, 487; Æneas Gazensis in Theophrasto in Biblioth. Patr. viii. p. 664, 665; Justinian, codex i. tit. xxvii.; Marcelli in Chronic. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. i. 7, p. 385; Gregor. Magn. Dialog. iii. 32. The question is, the credibility of such witnesses in such an age.

able consequence of female sway, and that of a king too early raised to the throne, too soon emancipated from his mother's control, by the mistaken fondness of the Goths, who, while they desired to educate him as a warlike Amala among his noble peers, abandoned him to the unchecked corruption of Roman manners. Rome conquered Athalaric by her vices. Premature debauchery wasted the bodily frame, and paralysed the intellect of the young Gothic king. Even the all-accomplished Amalasuntha, who spoke the languages of all her subjects with the most exquisite perfection, and, in some degree, blended the virtues of both races, yet wanted somewhat of the commanding strength of character which hallowed the noble Teutonic female. In an evil hour, while her son was sinking towards the grave, she bestowed her hand and the kingdom on her cousin, the unworthy Theodotus. Theodotus, master of the crown, imprisoned Amalasuntha, and soon put her to death. He then dragged out a few years of inglorious sovereignty, till the indignant Goths wrested away the sceptre to place it in the hands of the valiant Witiges.

Ostrogothic kingdom.

Death of Athalaric.

Marriage and death of Amalasuntha.

Witiges king.

Justinian watched the affairs of Italy without betraying his ambitious designs; but all who were dissatisfied with the state of affairs, turned their eyes to the East. Amalasuntha at one time had determined to abandon the kingdom, to place herself under the protection of Justinian: the fleet was ready to sail to Dyrrachium. Constant amicable intercourse was still taking place between the Catholic clergy of the East and West, between Constantinople and Rome, between Justinian and the rapid succession of Pontiffs, who occupied the throne during the ten years between the death of Theodoric and the invasion of Italy.

Felix IV. had just been acknowledged as Pope when Theodoric died; his peaceful pontificate lasted four years. The contests for the Papacy were not prevented by the agreement under Theodoric. A double election took place on the death of Felix. The partisans of either faction were prepared for a fierce struggle, when the timely death of his rival Dioscorus left

Pope Felix IV. 526-530.

Boniface II. in undisputed possession of the throne. Yet so exasperated were the parties, that Boniface would not allow his competitor to sleep in his grave; he fulminated an anathema against him as an anti-Pope, and compelled the clergy to sign the decree. It was revoked during the next pontificate. Boniface was of Gothic blood,[b] perhaps promoted by the Gothic party. He attempted a bold measure in order to get rid of the disgraceful and disastrous scenes of violence and bribery, which now seemed inveterate in the Papal elections. He proposed that during his lifetime the Pope should nominate his successor; he proceeded to designate Vigilius, a deacon, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne. An obsequious Council ratified this extraordinary proceeding. Both parties, however, equally resented this attempt to wrest from them their undoubted privilege, and thus to reduce the Papacy to an ordinary inheritance at the disposition of its possessor. In a second Council they showed their repugnance and astonishment at the daring innovation. The Pope acknowledged his own decree to be an act of treason against ecclesiastical and even civil law, burned it in public, and left the election of his successor to proceed in the old course.[c] There were again at the death of Boniface fierce strife, undisguised bribery, and shame and horror after all was over. Remedies were sought for this ineradicable disease. On the death of Boniface, the Roman Senate resumed some of its ancient authority, and issued an edict prohibiting these base and venal proceedings, during which the funds designed for the poor were loaded with debts, even the sacred vessels sold for these simoniacal uses. Athalaric confirmed this edict.[d] John II., whose former name was Mercurius, ruled for three years. During his

October 14. Boniface II. A.D. 530.

A.D. 531.

A.D. 532.

Dec. 31, 532.

[b] He was the son of Count Sigisbult or Sigisvult, though called a Roman by Anastasius.—Anastas. in Vit.

[c] Anastas. in vit., and Labbe, p. 1690.

[d] "Ita facultates pauperum extortis promissionibus ingravasse, ut (quod dictu nefas est) etiam sacra vasa emptioni publicæ viderentur exposita."—Athalar. Reg. Epist. apud Labbe, p. 1748. This law annulled all bargains made for the appointment to bishoprics. It declared the offence to be sacrilege; and limited the payments to the chancery on contested elections,—for the papacy to 3000 golden solidi, for archbishoprics or bishoprics to 2000. The largess to the poor was restricted to 500.

papacy arrived a splendid embassy from the East, with magnificent offerings, golden vessels, chalices of silver, jewels, and curtains of cloth of gold for the Church of St. Peter. The pretext was a deferential consultation with the Pope, concerning the *sleepless* monks, who were still not A.D. 534. without some Nestorian tendencies. At the same time came an ambassador to Theodotus, now Ostrogothic King, with expostulations, or rather imperious menaces, on alleged violations of the treaties between the Gothic kingdom and the Empire. During the short and troubled reign of Theodotus, Justinian received petitions from all parts of Italy, and from all persons, lay as well as clerical, with the air and tone of its Sovereign.

The aged Agapetus had succeeded to the Roman See before Justinian prepared for the actual invasion Agapetus. June 3, 535. of Italy. In the agony of his fear Theodotus the Goth had recourse to the same measure which Theodoric had adopted in his pride. He persuaded or compelled the Pope to proceed on an embassy to Constantinople, to ward off the impending danger, to use his influence and authority lest a Roman and orthodox Emperor should persist in his attempt to wrest Italy and Rome from a barbarous Arian; and Theodotus commanded the Prelate to be the bearer of menaces more befitting the herald of war. He was to declare the determination of the Goth, if Justinian should fulfil his hostile designs, to put the Senate to the sword, and raze the city of the Cæsars to the ground.[e] Like his predecessor, Agapetus was received with the highest honours. Justinian had already suspended, for a short time, his warlike preparations; but Agapetus found affairs more within his province, Agapetus in Constantinople. which enabled him to display to the despot of the East the bold and independent tone assumed even against the throne by the ecclesiastics of the West. The See of Constantinople was vacant. The all-powerful Theodora summoned Anthimus, bishop of Trebisond, to the Metropolitan diocese. Anthimus was suspected as tainted with Eutychian opinions. Agapetus resolutely declined to communicate with a Prelate, whose

[e] The embassy was in Constantinople, Feb. 2, 536.

appointment not merely violated the Canon against translations from one see to another, but one likewise of doubtful orthodoxy. The venal partisans of Anthimus and of Theodora insinuated counter-charges of Nestorian inclinations against the Bishop of Rome.[f] Agapetus, in a conference, condescended to satisfy the Emperor as to his own unimpeachable orthodoxy. Justinian sternly commanded him to communicate with Anthimus. "With the Bishop of Trebisond," replied the unawed ecclesiastic, "when he has returned to his diocese, and accepted the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo." The Emperor in a louder voice commanded him to acknowledge the Bishop of Constantinople on pain of immediate exile. "I came hither in my old age to see, as I supposed, a religious and a Christian Emperor, I find a new Diocletian. But I fear not Kings' menaces, I am ready to lay down my life for the truth." The feeble mind of Justinian passed at once from the height of arrogance to admiration and respect; he listened to the charges advanced by Agapetus against the orthodoxy of Anthimus. In his turn the Bishop of Constantinople was summoned to render an account of his theology before the Emperor, convicted of Eutychianism, and degraded from the see. Mennas, nominated in his room, was consecrated by the Pope. Thus one Patriarch of Con-
April 22, 536. stantinople was degraded, another promoted by the influence, if not by the authority (the distinction was not marked, as in later theologic disputes) of the Bishop of Rome. Agapetus did not live long to enjoy his triumph; he died at Constantinople; his funeral rites were celebrated with great magnificence; his body sent to Rome. His memory was venerated alike in the East and in the West.

But the next few years beheld the Papacy degraded
Justinian conquers Italy and Rome. from its lofty and independent dignity. Rome was now within the dominions of the sole Emperor of the world. Belisarius, in his unchecked career of conquest, had subdued Africa, Sicily, Naples; he entered undefended Rome as its master.[g] The Pope became first the victim, then the base instrument of the temporal

[f] Libellus de Reb. Gestis ab Agap. ad Constant. apud Baronium, 536.
[g] See the war in Gibbon, ch. xli.

power. Rome, now a city of the Eastern Empire, was brought at once within the sphere of the female intrigues of Constantinople; one Pope, Silverius, suffered degradation; another, the most doubtful character who had yet sate on the throne of St. Peter, received his appointment through the arts of the infamous Theodora, and suffered the judicial punishment of his weaknesses and crimes, —persecution, shame, remorse. Silverius, the new Pope, was the son of the former Pontiff Hormisdas, the legitimate son, born before the father had taken holy orders. Silverius was Bishop of Rome by command of Theodotus, yet undegraded from the Ostrogothic throne.[i] But the Romans saw with undisguised, but miscalculating pride, the Roman banners, floating over the army of Belisarius, approach their walls. The Pope dared (the Goths were in confusion at the degradation of Theodotus, and the elevation of Witiges) to urge the Romans to send an ambassador to hail the deliverer of the city from the barbaric Goth.[k] The Bishop of Rome received the General of the East, and, as it were, restored Rome to the Roman empire. Belisarius was lord of the Capitol, and at once the consequence of Rome's subjugation to the East broke upon the Pope and upon Rome. Theodora had never abandoned her hopes of promoting her favourite, Anthimus, to the See of Constantinople; she entered into a league with the Deacon Vigilius, who had accompanied the Pope Agapetus into the East. Vigilius was a man of unmeasured ambition, and great ability;[m] he had been designated as his successor by Pope Boniface; and when the unanimous voice of the clergy and the people wrested from Boniface the usurped right of nominating his successor, Vigilius was left to brood over other means of attaining the pontificate. The compact proposed by the Empress, and accepted by the unscrupulous Vigilius, stipulated on her part, the degradation of Silverius, and a large sum of

Rome surrendered to Belisarius.

Vigilius.

[i] Sine deliberatione decreti, Vit. Sylv. Confer. Marcell. Chron. Jaffe. Regesta, sub ann. 536. He was consecrated June 8.

[k] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτους Σιλβέριος εἰς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν, ὁ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεύς.—Procop. de B. G. i. c. 14.

[m] "Lubenter ergo suscepit Vigilius permissum ejus, amore episcopatûs et auri." —Liberat. Breviar. c. xxii.

money, no doubt to secure his election, and to consolidate his interest in Rome; on that of the ecclesiastic, no less than the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and the acknowledgment of Anthimus, as Bishop of Constantinople. The degradation of Silverius was intrusted not to the all powerful Belisarius alone, but to the surer hands of his wife Antonina, the accomplice of the Empress in all her intrigues of every kind, and her counterpart in the arbitrary power with which she ruled her glorious but easy husband. The Pope Silverius was accused of treasonable correspondence with the Goths, witnesses were suborned to support this improbable charge against him, who had yielded up the city to the conqueror. Belisarius, it is said, endeavoured to save the Pope from degradation, by inducing him to accede to the wishes of Theodora, to condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and to communicate with Anthimus. The resolution of Silverius, who firmly rejected these propositions, left him the defenceless victim of Vigilius and of Antonina. The successor of St. Peter was rudely summoned to the Pincian Palace, the military quarters of Belisarius. In the chamber of the General sat Antonina on the bed, with her husband at her feet. "What have we done," exclaimed the imperious woman, "to you, Pope Silverius, and to the Romans, that you should betray us to the Goths?" In an instant the pall was rent from his shoulders by a sub-deacon, he was hurried into another room, stripped of the rest of his dress, and clad in that of a monk. The clergy who accompanied him were informed of his degradation in a few careless words, "The Pope Silverius is deposed, and is now a monk." The most extraordinary part of this strange transaction is the utter ignorance of Justinian of the whole intrigue. From Patara, the place of his banishment, Silverius made his way to Constantinople, and to the amazement of the Emperor preferred his complaint of the unjust violence with which he had been expelled from his See. Justinian commanded his instant return to Rome. If, on further investigation, it should appear that he had been unjustly accused of treason, he was to be reinstated in his dignity. The

February, March, 537.

sudden reappearance of Silverius in Rome (he had outsailed the messengers of Theodora) embarrassed for a time, only for a short time, the unscrupulous Vigilius, and his more than imperial patrons. By the influence of Antonina, Silverius was delivered up to his rival, and banished by him who aspired to be the head of Christendom, to the island of Pandataria, infamous as the place of exile to which the worst heathen emperors had consigned the victims of their tyranny. On this wretched rock Silverius soon closed his life, whether in the course of nature or by violent means, seems to have been known with no more certainty in his own days than in ours.[n]

Vigilius was now, by command of Belisarius,[o] the undisputed Pontiff of Rome.[p] He had paid already a fearful price for his advancement,—false accusation, cruel oppression, perhaps murder. At Rome he declares his adhesion to the four councils and to the letter of Leo; he approves the anathema of Mennas of Constantinople against the Monophysites.[q] But four years after, Theodora demanded, and Vigilius dared not refuse, the rest of his unholy covenant, at least the base and secret adoption of all her heretical opinions. In a letter still extant,[r] but contested rather on account of its damning effect on one who was, or who afterwards became Pope, rather than from any mark, either external or internal, of spuriousness, Vigilius gave his deliberate adhe-

Vigilius Pope. A.D. 544.

[n] Anastasii vita. Liberatus writes briefly and significantly, "Solus ingressus a suis ulterius non est visus."—Breviar. c. xxiii.

[o] Ὕστερον δὲ ἀρχιερέα, ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον Βιγίλιον ὄνομα κατεστήσατο. So writes the Greek Procopius of Belisarius.

[p] The date of his accession is a point of grave dispute. If it is reckoned from his first nomination to the see, he can only be held an uncanonical usurper of an unvacated see, and that nomination must have been null and void. A second election therefore has been supposed; but of this event there is no accredited record. It is impossible so to connect the broken links of the spiritual genealogy.

[q] A.D. 540, September 17.—Mansi. ix. 35, 38.

[r] The letter is given by Liberatus. One main argument against its authenticity is, that he was never charged with it by his enemies or by Justinian. But it was a private letter to Theodora, and contains this sentence, "Oportet ergo, ut hæc quæ vobis scribo, nullus agnoscat." The letter may not have come to light till after the death of Theodora. But, with some mistrust of their own feeble critical arguments, the high papal writers assert that Vigilius, when he wrote this letter, was only an antipope and a schismatic. His subsequent legitimate election arrayed him in perfect Christian faith and virtue. He became officially orthodox. Binii not. in Liberatum. Dupin ventures to say that Liberatus is better authority than either Baronius or Binius.

sion to Eutychianism. The busy and restless theology of the East had now raised a new question, and Justinian aspired to the dignity of a profound divine, and a legislator of Christian doctrine as well of Christian civil affairs. He plunged with headstrong zeal into the controversy.[s] The Church was not now disturbed by the sublime, if inexplicable, dogmas concerning the nature of God, the Persons of the Trinity, or the union of the divine and human nature of Christ; concerning the revelations of Scripture, or even the opinions of the ancient fathers: the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of certain writings by bishops, but recently dead, became the subject of Imperial edicts, of a fifth so called Œcumenic Council, held at Constantinople, and a religious war between the East and the West. Under the name of the three Chapters, the Emperor and the obsequious Council condemned certain works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa.[t] These writings, though questionable as the source of, or as infected with Nestorianism, had passed uncondemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The imperial edict usurped the form of a confession of faith, and trespassed on the exclusive right of the clergy to anathematise the holders of erroneous doctrines. Great part of the submissive or consentient East received the dictates of the imperial theologian; the West as generally and resolutely refused compliance. Vigilius was peremptorily summoned to Constantinople. He set forth, loaded with the imprecations of the Roman people, and assailed with volleys of stones, as the murderer of Silverius, and a

A.D. 544.

[s] Justinian had already made an essay of his theological powers. In Palestine the controversy concerning the opinions of Origen had broken out again, and caused violent popular tumults. Pelagius, the legate of the Pope, and the Patriarch of Constantinople Menuas, urged the interference of Justinian. The emperor threw himself headlong into the dispute, and issued an encyclic letter, condemning the Origenists: the imperial anathema was subscribed by Mennas and many other bishops at Constantinople.

[t] The condemnation of the three chapters implied at least a covert censure of the Council of Chalcedon. I. The fathers of that council had received Theodoret into communion, and, content with his condemnation of Nestorius, had not demanded his retractation of his writings against Cyril of Alexandria. II. They had inserted in their proceedings a letter from Ibas of Edessa to the Persian Maris, in which he highly praised Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the master of Nestorius, blamed Cyril, and accused the Council of Ephesus as having too hastily condemned Nestorius.—Anastas. in Vita.

man of notorious cruelty. It was said that he had killed one of his own secretaries in a fit of passion, and caused his nephew, the son of his sister, to be scourged to death. "May famine and pestilence pursue thee; evil hast thou done to us, may evil overtake thee wherever thou art." A strong guard protected his person first to Sicily, and thence after near two years' delay to Constantinople.

His departure from Rome was fortunate for himself, fortunate perhaps for the dignity of the Papacy. During his absence, Rome was besieged by the Goths. A supply of corn sent by Vigilius from Sicily was intercepted on the Tiber by the barbarians; the Bishop Valentinus, who accompanied it, was summoned before the savage conqueror, and appearing to prevaricate, was mutilated by cutting off of both his hands. It was fortunate on another account: Constantinople alone witnessed the weakness and tergiversations of Vigilius, who at least three times pliantly yielded to, and then desperately resisted the theologic dictatorship of Justinian; three times condemned the three Chapters, three times recanted his condemnation. Constantinople alone witnessed the personal indignities, the persecutions of which reports, perhaps exaggerated, reached the West, but which were neither rendered glorious to a servant of Christ by Christian blamelessness, the sense of which might have allayed their bitterness, or by Christian meekness and resolution, which might have turned them to his honour and to his peace. He had the sufferings, but neither the outward dignity, nor the inward consolation of martyrdom.

It was a perilous crisis for a Prelate so ambitious, yet so double-minded, so trammelled by former obli- A.D. 548. gations, and so bound by common guilt to one of the contending parties. For there was division in the court; Justinian and Theodora, as throughout in religious interests, were on opposite sides; the East and the West were irreconcileably adverse. Vigilius was emboldened by his honourable reception in Constantinople; the June 11, 548. Emperor and the Pope are said to have wept, when they first met.[u] The death of Theodora soon relieved Vigilius

[u] Anastas. in vit.

from some part of his embarrassment. Yet he miscalculated his power, and dared to resist the Imperial will; he refused to condemn the three Chapters. He even ventured to address the Emperor under the favourite appellation, bestowed on all imperial opponents of ecclesiastical authority, as a new Diocletian. He excluded from his communion Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople; he excommunicated Theodorus of Cesarea, and even the departed Empress herself. Mennas threw back the anathema, and on his side excommunicated the Pope. Vigilius was ere long obliged to withdraw his censures, and to reconcile himself with the rival Prelate. Scarcely, indeed, had many months passed before the Pope at the head of a Council of seventy bishops, issued his infallible
A.D. 548. anathema *against* the three Chapters. The West at once threw off its allegiance, and refused to listen to the ingenious sophistry with which Vigilius attempted to reconcile his solemn judgment with his former opinions. Illyricum, Africa with all her old dauntless pertinacity, even his own clergy revolted against the renegade Pope. He revoked his imprudent concessions, recanted his recantation, and prevailed on the Emperor to summon a Council, in order, it should seem, either to obtain the support of the Council against the Emperor, or to compel the Western bishops to give up their resistance. The Eastern prelates assembled in great numbers at the Council, the Western stood aloof. Vigilius refused to sanction or recognise the Council in the absence of the Western bishops. Justinian, indignant at the delay, promulgated a new edict, condemning the three Chapters in still stronger terms on his own plenary authority. Vigilius assembled as many bishops as he could collect, solemnly protested against the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority, and cut off from his communion all who received the edict. But a Byzantine despot was not to be thus trifled with, or boldly bearded in his own capital, and the Eastern bishops refused to hold communion with the successor of St. Peter. Apprehensive of violence, the Pope took refuge in a sanctuary; but neither the Emperor nor his troops were disposed to reverence the sacred right of asylum. They attempted to drag him

forth by the feet, he clung to the altar, and being a large and powerful man, the pillars of the baldachin gave way, and the whole fell crumbling upon him.[x] The populace could not behold without compassion these personal outrages, heaped on a venerable ecclesiastic; the imperial officers were obliged to retire and leave Vigilius within the church. He was persuaded, however, on certain terms to leave his sanctuary. Again he suffered, according to rumours propagated in the West, still more barbarous usage; he was said to have been dragged through the city with a rope round his neck, and reproached with his crimes and cruelties, then committed to a common dungeon, and kept on the hardest prison diet, bread and water. A second time he escaped to his sanc- A.D. 552. tuary, and from thence by night fled over the sea to Chalcedon. There he took refuge in the more awful and inviolable sanctuary of Saint Euphemia. The Emperor condescended to capitulate on honourable terms with the Prelate. He revoked his edict, and left the three Chapters to the decrees of the Council. Vigilius had promised to be present at the Council; but dared not confront alone the host of Eastern bishops who composed it. The Council, according to the dominant sentiment of the East, renewed the condemnation of the three Chapters. Vigilius with difficulty collected sixteen Western bishops, issued a protest against the decree, and a Constitution, A.D. 553. solemnly acquitting the three Chapters of heresy. The wrath of the Emperor was again kindled;[y] Vigilius was once more seized and sent in exile to the dreary and solitary rock of Proconnesus. There his courage or his patience failed. Alarming reports reached him, that his name was to be struck out of the diptychs; that orders were preparing for Rome to elect a new bishop. He intimated that now, at length, on more studious examination, he had detected the subtle and latent errors which had so long escaped his impeccable judgment, and was prepared

[x] Vigilius himself relates the former outrage, but does not mention particularly the other indignities; but he says, "Dum multa mala intolerabilia sæpius pateremur quæ jam omnibus nota esse confidimus." —Epist. Encycl. apud Labbe, p. 330.

[y] Theodorus of Cæsarea was the ecclesiastic who ruled the mind of Justinian. See the imperfect anathema and sentence of deposition against him. —Labbe.

with a Constitution, condemnatory of those baneful writ-
A.D. 554. ings. He was recalled to Constantinople, obtained leave, after his full submission, to return to Rome, but
June 7, 545. died in Sicily of the stone, before he could reach his see.

Such was the miserable fate of a Pope who came into direct collision with the Imperial despotism of Constantinople. A Prelate of unimpeachable character, uncommitted by base subserviency to the court, and who had not owed his elevation to unworthy means, or one of more firm religious courage, might have escaped some portion of the degradation and contempt endured by Vigilius; but it is impossible not to observe again how much the Papal power owed to the position of Rome. Even its freedom, far more its authority, arose out of its having ceased to be the seat of Imperial government, and the residence of the Emperor. During the conquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperors, and for some time after, the Pope was not confronted indeed in Rome by a resident Emperor, but summoned at the will of the Emperor to Constantinople, or in Rome rebuked before a victorious general, or an Exarch, who, though he held his court at Ravenna, executed the commands of a sovereign accustomed to dictate, rather than submit to ecclesiastical power. At scarcely any period did the papal authority suffer greater degradation, or were the persons of the Popes reduced to more humiliating subserviency. Nor is this passive humiliation, which, by the patient dignity with which it is endured, may elevate the character of the sufferer; he is mingled up in the intrigues of the court, and contaminated with its base venality. He is hardly more independent or authoritative than the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The successor of Vigilius was Pelagius I. Pelagius
A.D. 546. had been the legate or ambassador of Vigilius at the court of Constantinople. He had won the favour of Justinian, and accumulated considerable wealth. He returned to Rome, a short time before it was besieged by Totila; and the wealth, obtained it might seem by doubtful means in the East, was nobly dispensed among the poor and famishing inhabitants of the beleaguered city. Pe-

lagius during the popedom of Vigilius had been employed on the most important services. When the Goths again contested the dominion of Italy, he had undertaken an embassy in the name of the Romans to avert the wrath of Totila; he had been received with stately courtesy, but dismissed with no concession on the part of the Goth.[z] After the capture of the city, when the victorious Totila entered the church of St. Peter to perform his devotions, he was met again by Pelagius, with the Gospel in his hands. "Have mercy on thy subjects," implored the earnest priest. "Now," tauntingly replied Totila, "you condescend to appear as a suppliant. "God," answered Pelagius, "has made us your subjects, be merciful to us on that account." His calm and submissive demeanour arrested the wrath of the conqueror. Rome owed to his intercession the lives of her citizens, and the chastity of her females. Massacre and violation were arrested; the discipline of the Goths respected the command of their king. Pelagius was sent by Totila as his am- A.D. 549.
bassador to Constantinople to demand peace, under the menace, that the Goth, if Justinian persisted in his hostility, would destroy Rome, and put the Senate to the sword.[a] Pelagius again in Constantinople, adhered as a faithful partizan to Vigilius, with him he resisted the theologic tyranny of Justinian; and, if he did not share his hard usage and exile, was left to neglect and misery. With Vigilius, having shown himself too pliant to the imperial doctrines, he returned to Rome, and on the death of Vigilius, by the command of Justinian, was elevated to the See.[b] But now in Rome, all his former benefactions to the city were forgotten in his treacherous abandonment of the orthodoxy of the West, and his servile compliance with the will of the Emperor; he could not assemble from all the reluctant order three bishops for the ceremonial of his consecration; it was per- June 7, 556.
formed by two bishops and a presbyter.[c] His favour with Justinian exposed him to worse, doubtless to unjust

[z] Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 16.
[a] Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 20.
[b] According to Victor Turon. he at first defended, then recalled from exile, condemned the three chapters (ap. Roncagl. ii. 377).
[c] Victor Turon., apud Roncagl.

suspicions. He was accused of having been the instigator in Constantinople of all the cruelties suffered by Vigilius. The monks, many of the clergy, and of the nobility of Rome, withdrew from his communion. Even when Narses reconquered Rome, the avowed protection of the Emperor's victorious representative could not restore the public confidence to Pelagius. The Pope, with the general by his side, went in solemn procession, chaunting a Litany, to the Church of St. Peter; and there Pelagius ascended the chancel, and holding above his head the Book of the Gospels, and the Cross, solemnly declared that he had never wrought or suggested any evil against Vigilius. Pelagius added, and to this he demanded the assent of the people, a strong denunciation of all, who from the door-keeper up to the bishop should attempt to obtain any ecclesiastical office by simony.[d]

Rome, after this expurgation, acquiesced in the rule of her Pontiff. But the Western bishops could not forgive his adhesion to the fifth Council of Constantinople, whose decrees had in some degree impeached those of the great Council of Chalcedon. Even in Italy the bishops of Tuscany would not admit his name into their sacramental liturgy. Pelagius bitterly reproached them with thus yielding to vulgar clamour; by separating themselves from the communion of an Apostolic See, they had separated themselves from the communion of all Christendom. But he thought it necessary to declare his unreserved acceptance of all the four great Councils (maintaining a prudent silence as to the fifth), and the Letter of his predecessor Leo. Whoever should not be content with this declaration, might demand further explanation from the Pope himself. Yet he condemned all that his predecessors had condemned, venerated as orthodox all that they received, especially the saintly prelates, Theodoret and Ibas.[e] The Pope addressed a letter to the whole Christian world, in which, after re-asserting his allegiance to the four Councils, he attempted to justify the fifth as in no way impeaching the authority of Chalcedon. A new royal theologian, Childebert, king of the Franks, entered the field, and required a more explicit

[d] Marcell. Chronic. apud Roncagl.

[e] Mansi. ix. 17.

statement. With this the Pope condescended to comply; he sent his confession of faith to the King, with an admonition to the orthodox sovereign to exercise vigilance over all heretics within his dominions. Still some obstinate dioceses, chiefly of Venetia and Istria, refused communion with all who adhered to the Synod of Constantinople. Pelagius had recourse to the all-powerful Narses to enforce submission; the most refractory, the Bishop of Aquileia, and the Bishop of Milan, who had uncanonically consecrated that prelate, were sent prisoners to Constantinople.

On the death of Pelagius,[r] Rome waited in obsequious submission the permission of the Emperor to inaugurate her new Pope, John III. The period between the accession of John III. and that of Gregory the Great is among the most barren and obscure in the annals of the papacy. One act of misjudging authority, and one of intercession, are recorded during the pontificate of John. He received, according to the permission of the Frankish King, Gunthram, the appeal of two bishops, Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap,[s] who had been deposed for crimes most unbefitting their order by a synod at Lyons. These were the first Christian bishops who had appeared in arms, the prototypes of the warlike and robber-prelates of later times. The Pope urged their restoration, the King assented: but the reinstated prelates returned to their lawless and unepiscopal courses, and were again degraded by the common indignation. July 14, 560.

The act of intercession was more worthy of the head of Western Christendom. The Eunuch Narses had ruled Italy and Rome as Exarch for fifteen years since the conquest, with vigour and justice. Justinian and Theodora had gone to their account; the throne of the East was occupied by Justin the younger. But the province groaned under the rapacity of Narses. Petitions were sent to Constantinople with the significant words, that the yoke of the barbarian Gauls was lighter than this Roman tyranny. Narses was superseded by the Exarch Longinus, insult was added to his degradation. "Let him to A.D. 552-567.

[r] Pelagius died 560.

[s] Ebrodonum. Vapincum.

his distaff," is the speech ascribed to the imperious wife of the Emperor Justin the younger. "I will weave her such a web as she will find it hard to unravel," rejoined the indignant Eunuch. He returned to Naples, from whence he entered into negotiations with the terrible Lombards, who had once already invaded Italy. Revolt, with Narses at its head, threatened the peace of Italy. The Pope undertook an embassy to Naples, appeased the wrathful Eunuch, who returned to Rome, and closed his days as a peaceful subject of the empire.

The few years of the pontificate of Benedict I. were occupied with the miseries of the Lombard invasion. His successor Pelagius II. in those disastrous times was consecrated without awaiting the sanction of the Emperor.[h] Pelagius in vain endeavoured to reduce the bishops of the north of Italy to accept the fifth Council of Constantinople. Some who were now under the Lombard dominion paid no regard to his expostulations; a synod at Grado rejected his mandates, and the bishops defied the power of the Exarch, through whom Pelagius sought to awe them to submission. Yet Pelagius, in one respect, maintained all the haughtiness of his See. The Bishop of Constantinople had again assumed the title of Œcumenic Patriarch, it was confirmed by a Council at Constantinople. Pelagius protested against this execrable, sacrilegious, diabolic usurpation: but in Constantinople his invectives made no impression. Pelagius was succeeded by Gregory the Great.

Benedict I. June 3, 574. A.D. 588. A.D. 590.

Since the conquest of Italy the popes had been the humble subjects of the Eastern Emperor. They were appointed, if not directly by his mandate, under his influence. They dared not assume their throne without his permission. The Roman Ordinal of that time declares the election incomplete and invalid till it had received the imperial sanction.[i] Months elapsed, in the case of Benedict ten months, before the clergy ventured to proceed to the consecration.

Pelagius II. was chosen when Rome was invested by

[h] Sine jussione Principis, Vit. Pelag. ii.

[i] Compare Schroeck., xvii. p. 236.

the Lombards; for this ignominious reason he had been consecrated without the consent of the Emperor.

The conquest of Italy by the Greeks was, to a great extent at least, the work of the Catholic clergy. Their impatience under a foreign and an Arian yoke is by no means surprising; nor could they anticipate that the return to Roman dominion would be the worst evil yet endured by Italy. Rome suffered more under the alternate sieges and alternate capture by the Byzantines and the Goths than it had from Alaric or even Genseric, as much perhaps as in its later sieges by Robert Guiscard, and by the Constable Bourbon. The feeble but tyrannical Exarchs soon made Italy regret the just, if oppressive and ungenial rule of the Goths. The overthrow of the Gothic kingdom was to Italy an unmitigated evil. A monarch like Witiges or Totila would soon have repaired the mischiefs caused by the degenerate descendants of Theodoric, Athalaric and Theodotus. In their overthrow began the fatal policy of the Roman See, fatal at least to Italy (however, by the aggrandisement of the Roman See, it may have been, up to a certain time, beneficial to northern Christendom), which never would permit a powerful native kingdom to unite Italy, or a very large part of it, under one dominion. Whatever it may have been to Christendom, the Papacy has been the eternal, implacable foe of Italian independence and Italian unity, and so (as far as independence and unity might have given dignity, political weight, and prosperity) to the welfare of Italy. On every occasion the Goths, the Lombards, as later the Normans and the House of Arragon, found their deadliest enemies in the popes. As now from the East, so then from beyond the Alps, they summoned some more remote potentate, Charlemagne, the Othos, Charles VIII., Charles of Anjou, almost always worse tyrants than those whom they overthrew. From that time servitude, servitude to the stranger, was the doom of Italy. To Rome herself, the foreign sovereign (the tyranny of the Eastern Emperor and his Exarchs was an admonition of what the transalpine emperors might hereafter prove) was hardly less dangerous than a native and indi-

genous sovereign would have been. And if the papacy had been more confined to its religious power, less tempted or less compelled to assume temporal as well as ecclesiastical supremacy, that power had been immeasurably greater, as less involved in political strife, less exposed to that kind of personal collision with the temporal monarchy, in which a sovereignty which rests on the awe and reverence of men must suffer; it might have maintained its ecclesiastical supremacy over obedient and tributary Christendom, even held as vast possessions on the tenure not of a temporal princedom, but of an ecclesiastical endowment; and thus more entirely ruled the minds of men by confining its authority to that nobler and, for a time at least, more unassailable province.

Rome, jealous of all temporal sovereignty but her own, for centuries yielded up, or rather made Italy a battle-field to the Transalpine and the stranger; and at the same time so secularised her own spiritual supremacy as to confound altogether the priest and the politician, to degrade absolutely and almost irrevocably the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN JURISPRUDENCE.[a]

CHRISTIANITY had been now for more than two centuries the established religion of the Roman Empire; it was the religion of all those independent kingdoms which were forming themselves within the dissevered provinces of Rome. Between the religion and the laws of all nations must subsist an intimate and indissoluble connexion. During all that period the vast and august jurisprudence of Rome had been constantly enlarged by new imperial edicts or authoritative decrees, supplementary to, or corrective and interpretative of, the ancient statutes.

I. The jurisprudence of the old Roman Empire at first admitted, but only in a limited degree, this modifying power of Christianity. The laws which were purely Christian were hardly more than accessory and supplementary to the vast code which had accumulated from the days of the republic, through the great lawyers of the empire, down to Theodosius and Justinian. But the complete moral, social, and in some sense political revolution, through Christianity, could not be without influence, both as creating a necessity for new laws adapted to the present order of things, or as controlling, through the mind of the legislator, the general temper and spirit of the legislation. A Christian Emperor could not exclude this influence from his mind, either as affecting his moral appreciation of certain obligations and transgressions, or as ascertaining and defining the social position, the rights and duties, of new classes and divisions of his subjects. Under Christianity a new order of men of a peculiar character, with special

First effects of Christianity.

[a] Let me not be suspected of the vain ambition of emulating Gibbon's splendid chapter on Roman Law, which has become the text-book in universities (see my edition of Gibbon). My object is more narrow and limited; and appeared necessary to the history even of Latin Christianity; the interworking of Christianity into the Roman jurisprudence.

privileges, immunities, and functions, had grown up throughout the whole society; new corporate bodies, the churches and the monasteries, had been formed, holding property of every kind by a new tenure; certain offences in the penal code were now looked on with a milder or more severe aspect; a more strict morality had attempted to knit more closely some of the relations of life; vices which had been tolerated became crimes against social order; and an offence, absolutely new in the extent of odiousness in which it was held, and the rigour with which it was punished, Heresy, or dissent from the dominant religion, in all its various forms, had been introduced into the criminal jurisdiction, not of the Church only, but of the Empire. The imperial legislation could not refuse, it was not inclined to refuse, to take cognizance of this novel order of things, and to adapt itself to the necessities of the age.

Barbaric codes.

II. The Barbaric Codes, which embodied in written statutes, the unwritten, immemorial, and traditionary laws and usages of the Teutonic tribes (the common law of the German forests), assuming their positive form after the different races had submitted to Christianity, were more completely interpenetrated, as it were, with Christian influences. The unlettered barbarians willingly accepted the aid of the lettered clergy, still chiefly of Roman birth, to reduce to writing the institutes of their forefathers. Though these codes therefore, in their general character and main principles, are essentially Teutonic—in their broad principles are deduced from the free usages of the old German tribes—yet throughout they are modified by Christian notions, and admit a singular infusion, not merely of the precepts of the New Testament, but of the positive laws of the Old.

Christian jurisprudence.

But III. Christianity had its own peculiar and special jurisprudence. The Christian community, or rather the separate communities, had originally exercised this power of internal legislation. They held each its separate tribunal, which adjudicated not only on religious matters, but, as an acknowledged wise and venerated arbitrator, in civil litigation. This legislation and administration of law had gradually become vested in the

clergy alone; and, instead of each community ruling its own internal concerns, and presiding over its own separate members, the Church, as chiefly represented by the bishops, either in local or national synods, or in general councils, enacted statutes, or canons, considered binding on the whole Christian world. The sanctions of this Christian jurisprudence were properly altogether religious: they rested on opinion, on the voluntary submission of each individual mind to spiritual authority. Their punishments and rewards were properly those of the life to come. The only punishments in this world were those of the penitential discipline, or excommunication from the Christian society, which was tantamount, with all who believed salvation to be the exclusive privilege of the Church, to a sentence of eternal damnation. Those who braved that disfranchisement—who either, as the Jews, never having entered within the community, or as holding heretical opinions had renounced it—were rightfully beyond its jurisdiction. The legislators, and administrators of the laws, had lost all cognizance over those upon whose faith or whose fears they had no hold. These were outlaws, who, as they blindly or obstinately disclaimed the inestimable privileges of the Church, could not be amenable at least to its temporal penalties. Unhappily the civil and canon, the Imperial and Christian, legislation would not maintain their respective boundaries. This arose partly from the established constitutional doctrine of Rome, that the Republic (now the Emperor) was the religious as well as the civil head of the Empire; partly from the blindness of Christian zeal, which thought all means lawful to advance the true, or to suppress erroneous, belief; and therefore fell into the irreconcileable contradiction of inflicting temporal penalties by temporal hands for spiritual offences. Athanasius hailed and applauded the full civil supremacy of the state when it commanded the exile of Arius; contested, resisted, branded it as usurping tyranny, when it would exact obedience from himself. Thus, though the councils were the proper legislative senates of Christianity, so long as the Empire lasted in the West, even later, and in the East

Supremacy of the Emperor.

down to the latest times; the Emperors enacted and enforced the observation of the ecclesiastical as well as of the civil law. Theodosius and Gratian define or ratify the definition of doctrines, declare and condemn heretics. Justinian is a kind of Caliph of Christianity, at once in the authoritative tone and in the subjects which he comprehends under his decrees he is a Pope and an Emperor. In the barbaric codes there is the same absolute supremacy of the sovereign law—in theory the same, but restricted by the more limited royal power, and the peculiar relation of the clergy to tribes newly converted to Christianity. Where there is a strong monarchy, it assumes a dominion scarcely less full and complete than under the Christian Emperors. Charlemagne, in his imperial edicts, is at once the legislator of the Church and of the State.

Three systems of law.

Thus then in Christendom there are three systems of jurisprudence, the Roman Law, the Barbaric or Teutonic Law, the Law of the Church—this last, as yet but young, humble and limited in its pretensions, a discipline rather than a law, or confined, in a great degree, to the special observance of the clergy.

Justinian code.

I. The Emperor Justinian, having now reunited the Eastern and Western Empires, aspired to be the legislator of the world; on Christendom and on the Roman Empire, according to his notions commensurate, he would bestow a full, complete, indefeasible Code of Law. Of the barbaric codes, if even in their initiatory growth or existence, the Roman law, which still held the whole Roman world to be its proper dominion, would be as disdainfully ignorant, as if they were yet the usages of wild tribes beyond the Rhine or the Danube. Even over the Church or Canonical Jurisprudence it would assert, as will immediately appear, majestic superiority; it would admit, confirm, sanction such parts as might demand the supreme imperial intervention, or require imperial authority.

Necessity for consolidation of laws.

Justinian aspired to consolidate in his eternal legislation all the ancient and modern statutes of the realm. The necessity for a complete and final revisal—an authoritative reconstruction and harmony of the vast mass of republican, senatorial, imperial decrees, or those

accredited interpretations of the law which had become law, and were admitted in the courts of justice—had long been acknowledged. The Roman jurisprudence must become a Code; the decisions of the great lawyers must be selected, distributed under proper heads, and rules be laid down for the superiority of some over others. This jurisprudence comprehended unwritten as well as written law. The unwritten were the ancient Roman traditions, and the principles of eternal justice. The sources of the written law were the XII. Tables, the Laws of the Republic, whether Senatus-Consults or Plebiscites, the decrees of the Emperors, the edicts of the Prætors, and the answers of the learned in the law.[b] Already attempts had been made to systematise this vast, multifarious, and comprehensive jurisprudence in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and finally the Theodosian codes. But the vast mass of laws which had still accumulated, the conflicting decisions of the lawyers, the oppugnance of the laws themselves, seemed to demand this ultimate organisation of the whole; and in Tribonian and his Byzantine lawyers, Justinian supposed that he possessed the wisdom, in himself the power and authority, to establish for ever the jurisprudence of Rome.

But the change which has come over the Roman Empire is manifest at once. That Justinian is a Christian Emperor appears in the front of his jurisprudence. Before the august temple of the Roman law, there is, as it were, a vestibule, in which the Emperor seats himself as the religious legislator of the world in its new relation towards God. The Christian Emperor treats all mankind as his subjects, in their religious as well as in their civil capacity. The Emperor's creed, as well as his edicts, are the universal law of the Empire. That which was accessory in the code of the former Christian Emperors, and in the Theodosian code, fills two supplementary books, stands in the front, and forms the Preface to that of Justinian. His code opens with the Imperial Creed on the Trinity, and the Imperial Anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, Apollinaris. Justinian declares indeed that he holds the doctrine of the Church, of the

Justinian a Christian emperor.

[b] Responsa prudentum.

Apostles and their successors. He recognises the authority of the four great councils. He even acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman Church, and commands all Churches to be united with her. At the time of the publication of the code, John III. was Bishop of Rome; but he had been appointed under the Exarch, his inauguration had submissively awaited the Emperor's approbation. Rome therefore, it was hoped, had become, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the Lombards, an integral, an inseparable part of the Empire. Justinian legislates therefore for Rome as for the East. But though the Emperor condescends thus to justify the orthodoxy of his creed, it is altogether of his absolute, uncontrolled, undisputed will that it is law. It might seem indeed that the clergy were the subjects, as first in rank, whose offices, even whose lives, must first be regulated by imperial legislation.

Laws for the Clergy.

In the following chapters the appointment, the organisation, the subordination, the authority of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil magistrates of the realm, is assumed to emanate from, to be granted, limited, prescribed by, the supreme Emperor. Excommunication is uttered indeed by the ecclesiastics, but according to the imperial laws and with the imperial warrant. He deigns indeed to allow the canons of the Church to be of not less equal authority than his laws; but his laws are divine, and those divine laws all metropolitans, bishops, and clergy are bound to obey, and, if commanded, to publish.[c] The hierarchy is regulated by his ordinance. He enacts the superiority of the Metropolitan over the bishop, of the bishop over the abbot, of the abbot over the monk. Distinct imperial laws rule the monasteries. The law prescribes the ordinations of bishops, the persons qualified for ordination,[d] the whole form and process of that holy ceremony. The law admitted no immunities in the Clergy for crimes committed against the state and against society. It took upon itself the severe superintendence of clerical morals. The passion for theatrical amusements, for the wild excitement of the

[c] τοὺς δὲ θειους κανόνας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι βούλονται νόμοι. —Cod. ii. 3, 44. They are to publish τὸν θεῖον ἡμῶν τοῦτον νόμον.—Cod. ii. 3, 43.

[d] Especially Nov. cxxiii.; it assesses the fees to be paid on each promotion.

horse-race and the combat with wild beasts, or even more licentious entertainments, had carried away many of the clergy, even of the bishops. A law, more than once re-enacted and modified, while it acknowledged the power of the clergy's prayers to obtain victory over the barbarians, and to obtain from Heaven extended empire, declared that for this reason they should be unimpeachable. But, notwithstanding the most solemn admonition, they could not be persuaded, not even the bishops, to abstain from the gaming-table, or the theatre with all its blasphemies and licence. The Emperor was compelled to pass this law, prohibiting, under pain of suspension for the first offence, of irrevocable degradation and servitude[e] to the public corporations, any one of the clergy, of any rank, who should be present at the gaming-table or at any public spectacle. These penalties, with other religious punishments, as fastings, were to be inflicted, according to the rank of the offender, by the bishop or the metropolitan. The refusal to punish, or the endeavour to conceal, such offences made both the civil officers and ecclesiastics liable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical penalties.

The Bishop was an imperial officer for certain temporal affairs. In each city he was appointed, with three of the chief citizens, annually to inspect the public accounts, and all possessions or bequests made for public works, markets, aqueducts, baths, walls and gates, and bridges. Before him guardians of lunatics swore on the Gospels to administer their trust with fidelity,[f] and many legal acts might be performed either in the presence of the Defensor or the bishop of the city.[g] For the discharge of these temporal functions the bishops were reasonably answerable to the Emperor; and thus the empire acknowledged at the inspiration of Christianity a new order of magistracy.

The law limited the number of clergy to be attached to each Church. This constitution was demanded in order to check that multiplication of the clergy, which exhausted the revenues of the Church, and led to burthensome debts. In the great Church at Constantinople the numbers were

[e] δουλεύειν.—Cod. i. 14, 34. [f] Cod. i. 4, 27. [g] De Episcop. Audient.

to be reduced to 425, besides 100 ostiarii.[h] The smaller churches were on no account to have more than they could maintain.

The State issued laws for the regulation of monasteries. None were to be established without the consent of the Bishop. The Bishop elected the superior from the community. Slaves might be admitted as well as freemen. A probation was required from all of three years. A slave, if a runaway or thief, might be claimed by his master during those three years. When a monk, he could no longer be claimed, unless he abandoned the monastic life. All were to live in common, to sleep in one chamber. If a monk wished to leave his monastery he went forth a beggar; the monastery retained all his property. If he entered into the army, it could only be into the lowest rank. No monk could leave one monastery for another.[i]

Such were the all-comprehending ecclesiastical laws which the Emperor claimed the power to enact. In many cases he commanded or limited the anathema or the interdict. The obedient world, including the Church, acknowledged, at least by submissive obedience, this imperial supremacy.

It is not till Justinian has thus, as it were, fulfilled his divine mission of legislating for his subjects as Christians, that he assumes his proper function, his legislation for them as Romans, and proceeds to his earthly task, the consolidation of the ancient and modern statutes of the Empire.

Roman law purely Roman.

But the legislation of Justinian, as far as it was original, in his Code, his Pandects, and in his Institutions, within its civil domain, was still almost exclusively Roman. It might seem that Christianity could hardly penetrate into the solid and well-compacted body

[h] 60 presbyters, 100 male 40 female deacons, 90 subdeacons, 110 readers, 25 singers.—Novell. iii. There is a curious law concerning interments in Constantinople. 1000 shops, or their rent, seem to have been bestowed on the church for the burial of the poor; they had a bier and the attendance of the clergy without charge. The rich paid according to their means and will; there was a fixed payment for certain more splendid biers and more solemn attendance.—Novell. xciii.

[i] The Institutes acknowledge the Bishop, with the Defensor, to have certain powers of appointing guardians.—i. 20, 5. Justinian speaks of the modesty of his times.—i. 22, 1. Two clauses (2, i. 8, 9) relate to churches, &c., iii. 28, 7. Churches named.—iv. 18, 8. Rape of nuns made a capital crime.

of Roman law; or rather, the immutable principles of justice had been so clearly discerned by the inflexible rectitude of the Roman mind, so sagaciously applied by the wisdom of her great lawyers, that Christianity was content to acquiesce in those statutes, which even she might, excepting in some respects, despair of rendering more equitable. Christianity, in the Roman Empire, had entered into a temporal polity, with all its institutions long settled, its laws already framed. The Christians had in their primitive state no natural place in the order of things. That separate authority which the Church exercised over the members of its own community from its origin, and without which the loosest form of society cannot subsist, was in no way recognised by the civil power; they were the voluntary laws of a voluntary association. But, besides these special laws of their own, the Christians were in every respect subjects of the Empire. They were strangers in religion alone. After the comprehensive decree of Caracalla, they, like the rest of mankind within the pale of the Empire, became Roman citizens; and the supremacy of the State in all things which did not concern the vital principles of their religion (for which they were still bound, if the civil power should exercise compulsion, to suffer martyrdom) was acknowledged, both in the West and in the East, both before and after the conversion of Constantine.

The influence therefore of Christianity on the older laws of the Roman Empire could only be exercised through the mind of the legislator, now become Christian; and the general moral sentiment, which became more pure or elevated, might modify, and gradually mitigate, some provisions, or more rigidly enforce certain obligations. The Roman law, in its original code, might seem indeed to take a pride in resting upon its antiquity and its purely Roman character; it admits not the language, it appears even to affect a supercilious ignorance of the religion, of the people.[k] In the *Institutes* of Justinian[m] it requires

[k] There are several quotations from Homer, not one allusion to any of the sacred writings of Christianity.

[m] The Institutes are without those prefatory chapters of Christian legislation contained in the Code. From those chapters we pass into the Roman Code, as into another land; and it demands

keen observation to detect the Christianity of the legislator. Tribonian, the great lawyer, to whom the vast work of framing the whole jurisprudence was committed by the Emperor, has incurred the suspicion of atheism, an accusation which, just or not, is strong evidence that his work had refused to incorporate any of the statutes, and bore no signs of Christianity. The prefatory Christian laws, though now become fundamental, are altogether extraneous to the old re-enacted system. They are recorded laws before Tribonian assumes his functions.

The Roman Law may be most conveniently considered, in connexion with the influence of Christianity, as it regards A. Persons; B. Property; and C. Crime.[n]

Law of persons.

A. The law as regards Persons comprehends the ranks and divisions, and the relations of mankind to each other, sanctioned or recognised by the law, with the privileges, rights, and immunities it may grant, the duties it may impose on each. In nothing is the stern and Roman character of the Justinian Code more manifest than in its full recognition of slavery.

Freemen and slaves.

Throughout, the broad distinction of mankind into freemen and slaves is the unquestioned, admitted groundwork of legislation. It declares indeed the natural equality of man, and so far is in advance of the doctrine which prevailed in the time of Aristotle, and is vindicated by that philosopher, that certain races or classes of men are pronounced by the unanswerable voice of nature, by their physical and intellectual inferiority, as designed for and irrevocably doomed to servitude. But this natural equality is absolutely and entirely forfeited by certain acknowledged disqualifications for freedom, by captivity in war, self vendition into slavery, or servile descent. Christianity had indeed exalted the slave to spiritual equality, as having the same title to the blessings, consolations, and promises of the Gospel, as capable of practising all Christian virtues, and therefore of obtaining the Christian's reward.

our closest attention to discern how far, now that he has abandoned all the language of Christianity, the spirit of the religion follows the emperor into the ancient realm.

[n] This in some degree differs from the division adopted by many writers from the Institutes of Justinian, under which the criminal law ranks as a branch of the law of actions or obligations.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

This religious elevation could not be without influence, besides the more generous humanity to which it would soften the master, on their temporal and social position. It took them out of the class of brute beasts or inanimate things, to be transferred like cattle or other goods from one master to another, which the owner might damage or destroy with as much impunity as any other property; and placed them in that of human beings, equally under the care of Divine Providence, and gifted with the same immortality. But the legislation of the Christian Emperor went no further. It makes no claim to higher humanity; it does not attempt to despoil the pagan Emperors of the praise due to the first step made in that direction. It ascribes to the heathen sovereign, Antoninus, the great change which had placed the life of the slave under the protection of the law. Even his punishment was then restricted by legislative enactment.[o] But the abrogation of slavery was not contemplated even as a remote possibility. A general enfranchisement seems never to have dawned on the wisest and best of the Christian writers, notwithstanding the greater facility for manumission, and the sanctity, as it were, assigned to the act, by placing it under the special superintendence of the clergy, by Constantine.

Law of Slavery.

The law of Justinian gave indeed, or recognised, a greater value to the life of the slave. The edict of Antoninus had declared the master who killed his own slave without cause, liable to the same penalty as if he killed the slave of another.[p] The Code of Justinian ratified the law of Constantine, which made it homicide to kill a slave with malice aforethought; and it describes certain modes of barbarous punishment, by which, if death follows, that guilt is incurred.[q] The Code confirms the law of Claudius against the abandonment of sick and useless slaves; it enjoins the master to send them to the public hospitals. These hospitals were open to slaves as well as to poor freemen. "In these times, and under our empire," writes Justinian, "no one must be permitted to

[o] Caius, i. 53; Just. Instit. i. viii. 2. Constantine, in 312, had enlarged this law.—C. Theod. de emend. serv., l. 9, 1.

[p] Caius, i. 53.

[q] Cod. Just. ix. 14.

exercise unlawful cruelty against a slave."[r] The motive, however, for this was not evangelic humanity, but the public good, which was infringed if any man ill-used his property.

But while it protected the life, to a certain extent the person, of the slave, it asserted as sternly as ever his inferior condition. He was the property of his master. Whoever became a slave lost all power over his children.[s] His testimony could be received against his master only in cases of high treason. His union with his wife was still only concubinage, not marriage.[t] The slave had no remedy for adultery before the tribunals; it was left to the master to punish the offence. A free woman who had unlawful connexion with her slave, according to the law of Constantine, not, as it seems, repealed by Justinian, was to be put to death, the slave to be burned alive. But the law of Constantine, confirmed in the West by Anthemius, which prohibited the union of a freeman and a slave, at least a freeman of a certain rank, under the penalty of exile and confiscation of goods, and condemned the female to the mines, appears to have been mitigated; at least the law of Claudius, which condemned the freewoman who married a slave to servitude, was tempered to a sentence of separation. In the old Roman society in the Eastern Empire this distinction between the marriage of the freeman and the concubinage of the slave was long recognised by Christianity itself. These unions were not blessed, as the marriages of their superiors had soon begun to be, by the Church.[u] Basil the Macedonian[x] first enacted that the priestly benediction should hallow the marriage of the slave; but the authority of the Emperor was counteracted by the deep-rooted prejudices of centuries. Later laws appear to have attempted the reconcilement of the Christian privilege with the social distinction. The marriages of slaves were to be celebrated in the Church; slaves and freemen were to receive the same nuptial benediction,

[r] "Expedit enim reipublicæ, ne quis *re suâ* utatur male."—Instit. i. viii.

[s] Instit. i. 16, and ii. 9, 3. Cod. ix. 1, 20.

[t] Contubernium, not connubium.

[u] It was thought that the marriage before the church would of itself confer civil freedom.—Biot sur l'Esclavage, p. 146.

[x] A.D. 867–886.

without conferring freedom on the slave.[y] As late as the thirteenth century a mandate of Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica, excommunicates masters who refuse to allow their slaves to be married in the Church.

Slave trade.

The trade in slaves was still a principal and recognised branch of commerce. Man was a marketable commodity. The whole Code of Justinian speaks of the slave as bearing a certain appreciable value, to be held by the same tenure, transferred by the same form, as other property. It was the weakness of Rome, not her humanity or her Christianity, which, by ceasing to supply the markets with hordes of conquered barbarians, diminished the trade; and Roman citizens were sold, with utter disregard of their haughty privileges, by barbarian or Jewish slave-venders. Throughout Greek and Latin Christendom, however the Church, by its precept and example, might rank the redemption of Christian slaves from bondage as a high virtue, the purchase and the sale of men, as property transferred from vendor to buyer, was recognised as a legal transaction of the same validity with the sale of other property, land, or cattle.

The Christian family.

The Christian family, in its more restricted sense, comprehending the relations of husband and wife, of parent and children, had been the centre from which the Gospel worked outwards with all its beneficent energy on society. But Christianity, conscious of its more profound and extensive influence on morals, was in most respects content to rest without intruding into the province of laws.[z] It superadded its own sanctity to the dignity with which marriage had been arrayed by the older Roman law: it superadded its own tenderness to that mitigation of the arbitrary parental power with which the more humane habits of later times, and the wisdom of the great lawyers, had controlled the despotism of the Roman father. The Roman definition of marriage might almost satisfy the lofty demands of Christianity. Matrimony is the union of man and woman,

Parental power.

Marriage.

[y] Constitut. Imp. xi. Jus. Gr. Roman. i. p. 145. Biot, p. 213.

[z] See throughout this chapter—the Codes, Pandects, and Institutes. Of modern works, Gibbon's celebrated chapter, with Warnkönig's notes; Ferdinand Walter, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, pp. 332 *et seq.*

constraining them to an inseparable cohabitation.[a] Polygamy had been prohibited by the Prætorian Edict with a distinct severity not to be found in the New Testament.[b] Marriage, in the oldest Roman law, was a religious rite. The purchase of the wife, the partaking of food together,[c] took place in the presence of the pontiffs. These ceremonials were at no time absolutely necessary; but even, under the Republic, marriage was altogether, as to its validity, a civil contract. With the Christians marriage had resumed a more solemn religious character. Certain forms of espousals or of wedlock are among the most unquestionable usages of the earliest Christian antiquity. On marriage the Christian is taught to take counsel of the bishop.[d] Some kind of benediction in the Church, or in the presence of the community, gave its peculiar holiness to the marriage ceremony.[e] Christianity did not decline some of the gayer and more innocent usages of Jewish and heathen marriages—the crowns, the ring, the veil of the virgin. Still, the Christian might hallow his union by the benediction of the Church; the betrothal or the espousals might take place in the presence of the religious community:[f] yet the Roman citizen was bound only by the civil contract. On this alone depended the validity of the marriage, the legitimacy and right of succession in the children. The Church, or the clergy representing the

[a] "Nuptiæ autem sive matrimonium est viri et mulieris conjunctio, *individuam* vitæ consuetudinem continens."—Instit. i. ix. 1.

[b] "Neminem qui sub ditione sit Romani nominis binas uxores habere posse vulgo patet; cum etiam in *Edicto Prætoris* hujusmodi viri infamia notati sint: quam rem competens judex inultam esse non patietur."—Cod. v. tit. 5, 2. The silence of the New Testament as to polygamy, excepting in the doubtful text about the bishop, has been the subject of much learned contest and inquiry. The desuetude into which it had fallen among the Jews, and its prohibition by Roman manners, if not by Roman laws, accounts for this silence, in my opinion most fully, considering the popular character of our Lord's teaching and that of his apostles.

[c] Coemptio et confarreatio.—The confarreatio was the more solemn form of marriage, and could only be annulled by certain tremendous rites, which represented as it were the death of the contracting parties.—Festus, Defarreatio. It had fallen into disuse with the extinction of the older families. The other two forms of marriage contract were coemptio and usus.

[d] Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. This passage is found in Mr. Cureton's Syriac version.

[e] Tertull. ad Uxor. ii. c. 2-9; de Monogam. c. 11. "Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio," &c. &c.: compare Augusti, Denkwürdigkeiten, x. p. 288.

[f] This was a voluntary rite, superinduced by Christian manners upon the law of the realm.

Church, had no jurisdiction in matrimonial questions till after the legislation of Justinian. It was never perfect and supreme in the East; in the West it grew up gradually with the all-absorbing sacerdotal power.

As to incestuous marriages, marriages within the more intimate degrees of relationship, Christianity might repose upon the rigour of the Roman law.[g] There was no necessity to recur to the books of Moses. That law prohibited the union of brothers with sisters, of uncles and aunts with nephews and nieces: it did not proscribe that of cousins german.[h] The Roman law extended this prohibition to connexions formed by affinity and by adoption. Connexions formed by marriage were as sacred as those of natural kindred, and an union with an adopted brother or sister was as inflexibly forbidden as in the case of blood. Prohibited degrees.

But of the few passages in the Code of Justinian which reveal the Christian legislator, that extraordinary one stands out in peculiar contrast, which extends the prohibited degrees to spiritual relationship. But the manner, almost as it were furtive, in which this prohibition is introduced, shows how it grew out of the existing state of Roman feeling. The jealous law had prohibited, besides the incestuous degrees of relationship, the union of a guardian, or the son of a guardian, with his ward.[i] But a man might marry an alumna whom he had educated as a slave, but to whom he had afterwards granted liberty.[k] The education as a slave implied that he had not towards her the affection of a parent. No one, however, would be so impious as to marry one whom he had brought up in his house as a daughter. On this principle it was that, Spiritual relationships.

[g] On forbidden marriages, Gaius, i. 58–62; Ulpian, v. 6; Collat. Leg. Mosaic. vi. 4–17; J. C. de Nupt., 5, 4, 1 to 5.

[h] Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 6; Cicer. pro Cluent. 5; Capitol. M. Antonin. The Emperors Arcadius and Honorius married their cousins. Instit. i. x. The old law (Caius, Instit. p. 27) allowed a man to marry his niece on the brother's, not on the sister's, side. The Emperor Claudius availed himself of this privilege. The Roman law, in fact, was not greatly extended by the canon law, the prohibitory degrees of which are summed up in these lines,—

Nata, soror, neptis, matertera patris, et uxor,
Et patrui conjux, mater, privigna, noverca,
Uxorisque soror, privigni nata, nurusque,
Atque soror patris conjungi lege vetantur.

[i] Cod. Justin. v. 6, 1 et 7.

[k] Cod. Justin. v. 4, 26. There were other civil prohibitions: marriage of freeman with slave (see above), with a freed man or woman, by the Julian law confined to senators and their children (Inst. 16, de Sponsal.; Justinian Cod. de Nupt. 28, 5, 4), of senators with actors (Ulpian, xiii. 1, xvi. 2) or persons of infamous occupations, &c. &c.—See Walter, p. 539.

whether brought up in his family or not, the sponsorship in baptism implied an affection so tender and parental as to render such a marriage unholy.

Roman pride and rigid Christian morality would concur in some of those prohibitions which interdicted free Romans from certain degrading or disreputable marriages. There could be no marriages with slaves: children born from that concubinage were servile. The Emperor Valentinian further defined low and abject persons who might not aspire to lawful union with freemen—actresses, daughters of actresses, tavern-keepers, the daughters of tavern-keepers, procurers (lenones) or gladiators, or those who had kept a public shop.[1]

The Roman law had gradually expanded from that exclusive patrician haughtiness which would not recognise the marriage with plebeians: it had admitted unions between all of Roman birth; but till Roman citizenship had been imparted to the whole Roman Empire, it would not acknowledge marriage with barbarians to be more than concubinage. Cleopatra was called only in scorn the wife of Antony. Berenice might not presume to be more than the mistress of Titus. The Christian world closed marriages again within still more and more jealous limits. Interdictory statutes declared marriages with Jews and heathens not only invalid but adulterous. The Councils condemned marriages with heretics in terms almost of equal rigour. The legislature was silent; though Manicheans especially, being outcasts by the law, marriages with them must have been of questionable validity.[m]

Divorce.

Yet, however lofty the theory of the Roman lawyers as to the sanctity and perpetual obligation of marriage, it was practically annulled by the admitted right and by the inveterate usage of divorce. It was a

[1] All this, however, was in the spirit of the ancient Roman law.

[m] Cod. Theodos. iii. 7, 2, ix. 7, 5, xvi. viii. 6; Cod. Justin. i. 9, 6. These laws, in the time of Augustine and Jerome, were by no means unnecessary. "At nunc plerœque contemnentes apostoli jussionem, junguntur gentilibus et templa Christi idolis prostituunt, nec intelligunt se corporis ejus partem esse cujus et costæ sunt."—Theron. In Jovin. i. 10: compare Augustin. de fid. et oper. c. 19. They gradually, as heathenism expired, became less denunciatory against such marriages, but maintained and even increased their rigour against Jewish connexions.—Concil. Laodic. x.; but add xxxi.; Concil. Agath. lxvii.; Concil. Arelat. xi.; Illiber. xvi. xvii.

contract which either party might dissolve, almost without alleged cause. In the older law, the wife being, like the rest of his family, the property of the husband, he might dismiss her at any time from his service. Even the law of the Twelve Tables admitted divorce. But the severer morals of the older Republic disdained to assert this privilege. The sixth century of Roman greatness is said to have begun before the public feeling was shocked at the repudiation of a virtuous but barren wife by Spurius Carvilius Ruga.[n] But in the later Republic the frequency of divorce was at once the sign, the cause, and the consequence of the rapid depravation of morals. Paulus Æmilius discarded the beautiful Papyria with a scornful refusal to assign any reason.[o] Cato, Cicero, exchanged or dismissed their wives. And the wives were not behind their husbands in vindicating their equal rights. Paula Valeria repudiated her husband without cause to become the wife of Decimus Brutus.[p] Augustus might endeavour by laws and by immunities to compel or allure the reluctant aristocracy of Rome to marriage; he might limit divorce by statute:[q] but his example more powerfully counteracted his own laws. He compelled the husband of Livia to divorce her during a state of pregnancy, and by marrying her became the father of a doubtful offspring. Mæcenas changed his wives as he changed his dress.[r] Seneca, in his lofty Stoic morality, declares that the noble women of Rome calculated the year not by the Consuls, but by their husbands.[s] Juvenal, in the bitterness of his satire, might describe the husband discarding his wife for the slightest infirmity;[t] Martial might point an epigram against these legal adulteries;[u] and all these writers might dwell, and with licensed exaggeration, only, or principally, on the manners of the capital and those of the higher

[n] Dion. Hal. ii. 93; Val. Max. ii. 1; Aulus Gellius, iv. 3. Plutarch in Numâ.

[o] "My shoes are new and well-made, but no one knows where they pinch me." —Plutarch. Vit. Paul. Æmil.

[p] Cic. ad Fam.

[q] See the lex Papia Poppæa.

[r] "Qui uxorem millies duxit." Such is the hyperbole of Seneca, who hated, perhaps because he envied, the memory of Mæcenas. "Quotidiana repudia."—De Provid., c. 3.

[s] Senec. de Benef. iii. 16.

[t] Conlige sarcinulas, dicet libertus, et exi; Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe emungeris, exi Ocius et propera: sicco venit altera naso. *Sat.* vi. 146.

[u] "Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est."—vi. 7.

orders; but throughout the Roman world there can be no doubt that this dissolution of those bonds which unite the family was the corroding plague of Roman society. Christianity must have subjugated public feeling to a great extent; it must have overawed, and softened, and rendered attractive the marriage state by countless examples in every part of the Empire (like that so beautifully described by Tertullian),[x] far more than by its monastic notions of the superior dignity of virginity, before even Constantine could venture on his prohibitory law against divorce. Marriage was absolutely annulled by three causes, retirement to a monastic life, impotence, and captivity. The period at which captivity dissolved the tie, and permitted the husband or the wife to marry again, was differently defined in successive statutes. The divorce law of Constantine limited repudiation to three causes: against the husband, if he was a homicide, a magician, a violator of tombs.[y] In either of these cases the wife recovered her dowry. If she sued for a divorce for any other cause, she forfeited her dowry, her jewels, even to the bodkin of her hair, and was sentenced to deportation into a desert island. Against the wife the three crimes were adultery, witchcraft, or acting as procuress. If the husband repudiated her for one of these causes he retained the dowry; if for any other the penalty was the forfeiture of the dowry. If he married again, the repudiated wife might enter his house and seize the dowry of the new bride. But the severity of this law was mitigated by Honorius,[z] its penalties abrogated by Theodosius the younger. This law, which is recited in the Code and in the Novellæ of Justinian, adds to the causes which justify divorce: on the part of the wife, if the husband is guilty of adultery, high treason, or forgery, sacrilege, pillage of churches, robbery or harbouring robbers, cattle-driving, man-stealing, having, to the disgrace of his family, connexion with loose women in the sight of his wife, attempting her life by poison or violence, or scourging her in a manner insupportable to a freewoman. On the part

[x] Ad uxor. ii. c. 9.
[y] Cod. Theod. de repud. iii. xvi.
[z] Novell. xvii. de repudiis ad calc. cod. Theodos. Ritter observes that the constitutions were not annulled by this edict, only the penalties.

of the husband, besides all these, frequenting the banquets of strangers without his knowledge or consent, passing the night abroad without just cause or permission, or indulging in the Circus, the theatre, or the amphitheatre, without his leave.[a]

The legislation of Justinian is obviously embarrassed with the difficulty of the question of repudiation: it re-enacts, but with some hesitation, the severe statutes of Theodosius: a succession of new laws explains, restricts, or confirms the plainer language of the Code. Justinian, indeed, first extended the penalties of the laws against divorce to cases of marriage without dower: if the husband repudiated an undowered wife without just cause, he forfeited to her one-fourth of his property.[b] But the successor of Justinian was compelled to sweep away all these provisions, and to restore the liberty of divorce by mutual consent. The Emperor, as the law declares, was beset by complaints and remonstrances, that inextinguishable hatred was implanted in families by these restrictions, that secret poisonings would become common: he resisted long, but was compelled to yield to the general clamour. The manners of Constantinople, perhaps of the Roman world, triumphed over the severer authority of the Church.

Concubinage.

Concubinage, a kind of inferior marriage, of which the issue were natural children not bastards, had been, to a certain extent, legalised by Augustus. The Christian Emperors endeavoured to give something of the dignity of legitimate marriage to this union, by enlarging the rights of natural children to succession; but in the East it was not abolished, as a legal union, till the time of Leo the Philosopher; in the West it was perpetuated by the pride of the conquering races, and in some respects by the practice of the clergy themselves to a much later period.[c]

Parental power.

That primeval constitution of Roman society, which made each family a little state, with its peculiar sacrifices and peculiar jurisdiction, of which the

[a] Cod. v. xvii.; Pandects, xxiv. ii.; Novellæ, xxii. cxvii. cxxxiv. The Institutes avoid the subject.

[b] Cod. v. xvii. ii. To the first causes were added, endeavour to procure abortion, and indecent bathing in the public baths with men.

[c] Ducange, art. Concubina.

father was Priest and King, had long fallen into disuse. The parental power, in theory absolute, had been limited by public feeling and long desuetude. Even under the old republic, Brutus and Manlius were magistrates and generals as well as fathers; the execution of their sons was a sacrifice to Roman liberty and to Roman discipline, not an exertion of parental authority. Erixo, a Roman knight in the time of Seneca, whose son died under his chastisement, was pursued through the forum by the infuriated people.[d] Alexander Severus limited the parental power by law. It was well perhaps for human nature that this change had taken place before the promulgation of Christianity. It was spared those domestic martyrdoms which might have taken place in many families. For that which the divine wisdom of its founder had foreshown was inevitable. Youth, in its prospective ardour, would be more prone to accept the new religion, than age rigidly attached to ancient and established usages. It is the constant reproach, with which the apologists of Christianity have to contend, that it nurtured filial disobedience, and taught children to revolt against the authority of parents.[e] But this conflict was over long before Christianity entered into Roman legislation. The life of the child was as sacred as that of the parent; and Constantine, when he branded the murder of a son with the name of parricide, hardly advanced upon the dominant feeling. Some power remained of moderate chastisement, but even this was liable to the control of law. Disinheritance remained the only penalty which the father could arbitrarily inflict upon the son; for by degrees that absolute possession of all the property of the son which of old belonged to the father had been limited. The peculium over which full power was vested in the son was extended by Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian to all which he might acquire in military service, even to captives who became his slaves, to be disposed of by gift or will; by Constantine and later Emperors to all emoluments obtained in

[d] Seneca de Clement., i. 14.

[e] Tertull. Apologet. c. 3; Origen contra Cels.; Hieronym. Epist. ad Lætam.

civil employments; by Justinian to the inheritance, in certain cases, of the mother's property.

Infanticide was thus a crime by law, but the sale and exposure of children, the most obstinate vestige of the arbitrary parental power, aggravated by the increasing misery of the times, still contended with the humane severity of the laws, and the fervent denunciations of the Christian teachers.[f] The sale of children was prohibited by law, yet prevailed to late times. The Emperor Trajan had declared that a free born child, exposed by its parents and brought up by a stranger, did not forfeit its liberty.[g] The Christian Emperor first declared exposure of infants a crime;[h] at the same time he declared the children of such poor parents as should be unable to nourish them, children of the state, to be clothed and supported by the public treasury. This vast poor law could not have been carried into effect, or was necessarily modified by new laws, providing for children thus exposed. The stranger who took up such child and maintained it, might, according to a law of Theodosius the Great, bring it up as his own son, or as his slave. The father who had exposed his child, having abandoned his paternal power, could not reclaim it; he, however, who had sold his child through poverty might redeem it by paying the same price, or replacing it by another slave. But one of Justinian's supplementary laws both shows the unrepressed frequency of the practice, and by its strong language the profound sense of its inhumanity. It was now the custom to leave the children not merely in the streets, but in the churches, in order, no doubt, to appeal to the kindness of the clergy and the more pious worshippers. If, says the law, worn-out slaves, who are exposed by their masters, obtain their freedom, how much the rather free-born in-

Infanticide.

[f] Athenagor. Apologet. Tertullian, Apologet. 9; Lactantius, D. I. vi. 20.

[g] Pliny. Epist. x. 7.

[h] The Cod. Justin. iv. 43, 1, confirmed the declaration of the law by Diocletian. "Liberos a parentibus neque venditionis neque donationis titulo, neque pignoris ure, aut alio quolibet modo, nec sub prætextu ignorantiæ accipientes, in alium transferri posse, manifestissimi juris est." Yet in the life of Paphnutus by Jerome we read: "Mihi est maritus qui fiscalis debiti gratiâ, suspensus est et flagellatus, ac pœnis omnibus cruciatus, servatur in carcere. Tres autem nobis filii fuerunt, qui pro ejusdem debiti necessitate distracti sunt."

fants? But, as if aware that this was rather a penalty on the charitable person, who might undertake the care of such children (for whom it might be better to be brought up as slaves than left to perish), condign punishment is threatened, it is to be presumed that of murder, against the guilty parties. It is probable, however, that the practice, though not so clearly traceable, expired but slowly in the East; in the West it still required the decrees of Councils and the edicts of sovereigns to extirpate this pertinacious crime.[h]

Law of property.

B. Christianity made no change in the tenure or succession to property. The Christian churches succeeded to that sanctity which the ancient law had attributed to the temples; as soon as they were consecrated they became public property, and could not be alienated to any other use. The ground itself was hallowed, and remained so even after the temple had been destroyed. This was an axiom of the heathen Papinian.[i] Gifts to temples were alike inalienable, nor could they be pledged; the exception in the Justinian code betrays at once the decline of the Roman power, and the silent progress of Christian humanity. They could be sold or pledged for the redemption of captives, a purpose which the old Roman law would have disdained to contemplate.[k] The burial of the dead made ground holy. This consecration might be made by any private person; but a public burial ground became, in a certain sense, public property.[m]

The great law of Constantine, which enabled the Christian churches to receive gifts and bequests, was but an extension or transference of the right belonging to heathen temples[n] and priesthoods, many of which were

[h] Capit. vi. c. 142; Decret. Gregor. de exposit. lib. ii. 971, 972, 973.

[i] Instit. ii. 1, 8. Papinian lived under the reign of Severus.

[k] Property might be bequeathed in general terms for the redemption of captives.—c. i. 3, 48.

[m] Instit. ii. 1, 9. If the owner gave consent, a body might be interred in any ground, which thereby became sacred; if the owner afterwards wished to withdraw his consent, he could not: his right was lost in the sanctity of the ground. Paolo Sarpi supposes, but quotes no authority, that the churches had even before Constantine received lands by bequest, but contrary to law. They were confiscated by Diocletian. The following is a law of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 290: "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hæreditatem capere non posse, dubium non est."—C. 8 de hæred. instit.; Sarpi Opere, iv. 71.

[n] A law in the Justinian code declares all gifts or bequests to heathen persons

endowed with large estates.[o] Even during the reign of Constantine some parts of the estates of the heathen temples were made over to the Christians; but the private offerings of the faithful, by donation and by will, poured in with boundless prodigality. Already hæridipety, seeking inheritances by undue means, is branded as an ecclesiastical vice by the severer teachers, and constrained by law;[p] already the abuses of wealth begin to appear. The Apostolic Constitutions enact that the property of the bishop should be kept distinct from that of his see,[q] his own he may bequeath by will to his wife, his children, or other heirs; the property of the Church is to descend sacred and inviolate. Already bishops are reproached, as too much involved in worldly affairs; Councils declare that they must be relieved from the administration of the temporal concerns of their churches; a steward or œconomus must be appointed in each church for this end.[r] The sovereigns, instead of endeavouring to set bounds to this tide of wealth which was setting into the Church, to the loss of the imperial exchequer, swelled it by their own munificence, as well as by the tenour of their laws. They dared not incur the reproach at once of want of respect to the clergy, of parsimony to the poor, of stinting the magnificence of the edifices, now everywhere rising for the honour of God. These were the three acknowledged purposes to which were devoted the ecclesiastical revenues.

The legislation of Justinian confirmed all the provisions of former Christian emperors for the security and enlargement of ecclesiastical wealth. A law of Leo and Anthemius was the primary palladium of Church property. It declared every kind of property in land, in houses or rents, in moveables, in peasants or slaves, absolutely inalienable even with the concurrent consent of the

or places (*i.e.* priests and temples) null and void:—Leo, l. 11, 9.

[o] On the *church* property of the ancients see the curious passage in Appian. During the pressure of the Mithridatic war, Sylla sold as much of the property devoted to sacrifices as produced 9000 pounds of gold.—De Bello Mithrid., c. xxii.

[p] Hieronymus in Nepot., Epist. xxxiv. The law of Valentinian. See page 63.

[q] Apostol. Constit. can. 33.

[r] Chrys. Hom. lxxxvi. in Mathæum. Concil. Antioch. Synod. Chalced. can. 26.

bishop, the steward, and all the clergy. All such sacrilegious alienations by gift, bequest, or exchange, were absolutely null and void. The steward guilty of such alienation lost his office, and was bound to make good the loss out of his own property. The notaries who drew such deeds were condemned to perpetual exile; the judges who confirmed them lost their office and forfeited all their property.[s] The lease or usufruct only could be granted under certain precise stipulations.

A law of Valentinian and Marcian empowered all widows, deaconesses, or nuns to bequeath to any church, chapel, body of clergy, monastery, or to the poor, the whole or any part of their property. Zeno enacted that any one who had bestowed any property on any martyr, prophet, or angel, to build a house of prayer; in case he died before the work was finished, his heirs were bound to complete it.[t] The same applied to caravansaries, hospitals, or almshouses. The bishop or his officers might exact the completion to the full.[u] Justinian recognises bequests simply to Jesus Christ, which might be claimed by the principal church of the city; and bequests made to any archangel or saint, without specified place, went to the nearest church dedicated to that angel or saint.[x]

Founders of churches possessed the right of patronage, but the bishop might refuse an unqualified priest.[y]

All church property was declared free from baser services, and from extraordinary contributions.

Thus the Church might constantly receive and never depart from property; and thus began its immunities from public burthens. In the rapid change of masters, undergone in far the larger part of the Roman world, property of all kinds was constantly accumulating in the hands of

[s] "Nec si omnes cum religioso episcopo et œconomo clerici in eorum possessionum alienationem consentiant."—c. i. 2, xiv. This law, which was originally limited to the church of Constantinople, was re-enacted with some slight alterations by Anastasius and by Justinian.—Constit. 7. Justinian extended this law to the whole empire, including the West.—Nov. 7. Const. ix. These two constitutions (c. i. 11, 24) gave the right of claiming bequests to the church for 100 years; this was afterwards limited to 40.—Nov. Constit. iii. 131–36. The emperor might, for the public good, receive church property in exchange, giving more valuable property.—Nov. 7.

[t] C. i. 2, xv.

[u] C. i. 3, 45.

[x] Cod. i. 2, 26.

[y] Nov. 123. Nov. Constit. 57, 2.

the Church, which rarely, except through fraud or force, relaxed its grasp. The Church was the sole proprietor, whom forfeiture or confiscation could never reach; whose title was never antiquated; before whose hallowed boundaries violence stood rebuked; whom the law guarded against her own waste or prodigality; to whom it was the height of piety, almost ensured salvation, to give or to bequeath; sacrilege to despoil, to defraud; whose property if alienated was held under a perpetual curse, which either withered its harvest, or brought disaster and ruin on the wrongful possessor.

C. The penal laws of the Roman Empire, excepting in the inflexible distinction drawn between the freeman and the slave, were not immoderately severe, nor especially barbarous in the execution of punishment. In this respect Christianity introduced no great mitigation. The abolition of crucifixion as a punishment by Constantine was an act rather of religious reverence than of humanity. Another law of Constantine, if more rigorously just, sanctions the cruel iniquity, which continued for centuries of Christian legislation—the torture. No one could be executed for a capital crime, murder, magic, adultery, except after his own confession, or the unanimous confession of all persons interrogated or submitted to torture.[z]

Some crimes were either made capital or more rigidly and summarily punished with death by the abhorrence of Christianity to sensual indulgences. The violation of virgins, widows, or deaconesses professing a religious life, was made a capital offence, to be summarily punished.[a]

The crime against nature, the deep reproach of Greek and Roman manners, was capitally punished.[b]

But remarkable powers had been given by former Emperors, and enlarged by Justinian, or rather, it was made a part of the episcopal function, to visit every month the state prisons, to inquire into the offences of all persons committed, and to admonish the civil authorities to pro-

[z] By the Justinian code, Nov. cxxiii. c. 31, torture (*βάσανοι*) and exile were the punishment of any one who insulted a bishop or presbyter in the church. The disturbance of the sacred rites was a capital offence.

[a] Cod. i. 3, 53.

[b] Two bishops were publicly executed for this offence by Justinian.—Theophanes, p. 27.

ceed according to the law.[c] Private prisons were prohibited; the bishop was empowered to order all such illegal places of confinement to be broken open, and the prisoners set free.[d]

In certain points the bishops were the legal as well as the spiritual guardians of public morality. They had power to suppress gaming of certain prohibited kinds.[e] With the presidents of the provinces they might prevent women from being forced on the stage, or from being retained against their will in that dangerous and infamous profession.[f] If the president, in his office of purveyor for the public amusement, should be the person in fault, the bishop was to act of himself, either of his own authority or by appeal to the Emperor.

A new class of crimes, if not introduced by Christianity, became multiplied, rigorously defined, mercilessly condemned. The ancient Roman theory, that the religion of the State must be the religion of the people, which Christianity had broken to pieces by its inflexible resistance, was restored in more than its former rigour. The code of Justinian confirmed the laws of Theodosius and his successors, which declared certain heresies, Manicheism and Donatism, crimes against the State, as affecting the common welfare. The crime was punishable by confiscation of all property, and incompetency to inherit or to bequeath. Death did not secure the hidden heretic from prosecution; as in high treason, he might be convicted in his grave. Not only was his testament invalid, but inheritance could not descend through him. All who harboured such heretics were liable to punishment; their slaves might desert them, and transfer themselves to an orthodox master.[g] The list of proscribed heretics gradually grew wider. The Manicheans were driven still farther away from the sympathies of mankind; by one Greek constitution they were condemned to capital punishment. Near thirty names of less detested heretics are recited in a law of Theodosius the younger, to which were

[c] Cod. i. 4, 22.
[d] Cod. i. 4, 22.
[e] Cod. ii. 4, 14.
[f] De Episcop. Audient. ii. 4, 33.
[g] Cod. de Hæret. i. 5, 11.

added, in the time of Justinian, Nestorians, Eutychians, Apollinarians. The books of all these sects were to be burned; yet the formidable number of these heretics made, no doubt, the general execution of these laws impossible. But the Justinian code, having defined heretics as all who do not believe the Catholic faith, declares such heretics, as well as pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, incapable of holding civil or military offices, except in the lowest ranks of the latter;[h] they could attain to no civic dignity which was held in honour, as that of the defensors, though such as were burthensome might be imposed even on Jews.[i] The assemblies of all heretics were forbidden, their books were to be collected or burned, their rites, baptisms, and ordinations prohibited.[k] Children of heretical parents might embrace orthodoxy; the males the parent could not disinherit, to the females he was bound to give an adequate dowry.[m] The testimony of Manicheans, of Samaritans, and pagans could not be received; apostates to any of these sects and religions lost all their former privileges, and were liable to all penalties.[n]

II. The Barbaric Laws[o] differed from those of the empire in this important point. The Roman jurisprudence issued entirely from the will of the Emperor.[p] The ancient laws, whether of the Republic or of his imperial predecessors, received their final sanction, as comprehended within his code: the answers of the great lawyers, the accredited legal maxims, obtained their

Barbaric codes.

[h] There was an exception for the Goths in the service of the Empire.

[i] Cod. i. ix. 5.

[k] Cod. i. 5, 21.

[m] Cod. i. 5, 21.

[n] Cod. i. 7.

[o] All the barbarian codes are in Latin, but German words are perpetually introduced for offices and usages purely Teutonic.—Wergelda, Rachimburg. See Eichhorn, Staats und Rechtsgeschichte, i. p. 232. See curious extract from Lombard Law on manumission, p. 331. The collection which I have chiefly used is the latest, that of Canciani, Leges Barbarorum, Venice, 1781.

[p] Many Christians, even of honourable birth, according to Salvian, fled from the cruel oppressions of the Roman law, no doubt the fiscal part, and took refuge among the heathen barbarians. "Inter hæc vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tantum ut multi eorum et non obscuris natalibus editi et liberaliter instituti ad hostes fugiunt, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur, quærentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanum humanum, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his, ad quos confugiunt, discrepent ritu, discrepent linguâ, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam, corporum atque induviarum barbaricarum fœtore dissentiant, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem, quam in Romanis injustitiam sævientem."—De Gub. Dei, lib. v.

perpetuity, and became the permanent statutes of the realm through the same authority. The barbaric were national codes, framed and enacted by the King, with the advice and with the consent of the great council of his nobles, the flower and representative of the nation.[q] They were the laws of the people as well as of the King. As by degrees the bishops became nobles, as they were summoned or took their place in the great council, their influence becomes more distinct and manifest: they are joint legislators with the King and the nobles, and their superior intelligence,[r] as the only lettered class, gives them great opportunity of modifying, in the interest of religion or in their own, the statutes of the rising kingdoms. This, however, was of a later period. The earliest of these codes, the Edict of Theodoric, is so entirely Roman, that it can scarcely be called barbaric jurisprudence. It is Roman in its general provisions, in its language, in its penalties; it is Roman in the supreme and imperial power of legislation assumed by the King: there is, in fact, no Ostrogothic code. The silence as to ecclesiastical matters in the edicts of Theodoric and Athalaric arise from the peculiar position of Theodoric, an Arian sovereign in the midst of Catholicism dominant in Rome and throughout Italy.[s] But there is a singular illustration of the theory of ecclesiastical power, as vested in the temporal sovereign. The Arian Athalaric, the son of Theodoric, at the request of the Pope himself, issues a strong edict against simony, which by his command is affixed, with a decree of the Senate to the same effect, before the porch of St. Peter's. The points in which the Ostrogothic edict departs from the

Laws of Theodoric and Athalaric.

[q] "Hoc decretum est apud Regem et principes ejus, et apud *cunctum populum* Christianum, qui infra regnum Merovingorum consistunt." — Præf. ad Leg. Ripuar. The Salic law is that of the Gens Francorum inclyta, among whose praises it is that they had subdued those Romans, who burned or slew the martyrs, while the Franks adorn their reliques with gold and precious stones.—Præf. ad Leg. Salic.

[r] The first instance of this is in the preface to the code of Alaric. "Utilitates populi nostri propitiâ divinitate tractantes, hoc quoque quod in legibus videbatur iniquum meliori deliberatione corrigimus, ut omnis legum Romanarum et antiqui juris obscuritas, adhibitis *sacerdotibus* et nobilibus viris, in lucem *intelligentiæ melioris* deducta resplendeat."

[s] There are some provisions favourable to the church borrowed from the Roman law. The church inherited all the property of clergy dying intestate. —xxvii.; apud Canciani, i. p. 15.

Roman law are: I. The stronger difference drawn between the crimes of the nobles and of the inferior classes. Already the Teutonic principle of estimating all crimes at a certain pecuniary amount, according to the social rank of the injured person, the *wehrgelt*, is beginning to appear, as well as its consequence, that he who could not pay by money must pay by his life.[t] False witness is punished with death in the poor, by a fine in the rich; the incendiary is burned alive if a slave or serf, if free he has only to replace the amount of damage;[u] should he be insolvent, he is condemned to beating and exile. Wizards, if of honourable birth, were punished with exile; if of humbler descent, with death; while a freeborn adulteress was sentenced to death, in a vile and vulgar woman the crime was venial.[v] In seduction, the seducer was obliged to marry the woman; if married, to endow her with a third of his estate; if ignoble, he suffered death.[x] II. The edict, in the severity of its punishments, exceeds the Roman law, especially, as might be expected among the Goths, in all crimes relating to the violation of chastity. Capital punishments were multiplied, and capital punishments almost unknown to the Roman law. The author of sedition in the city or the camp was to be burned alive.[y] The male adulterer was to be burned, the female capitally punished.[z] Death was enacted against pagans, soothsayers, low-born wizards; against destroyers of tombs, against kidnappers of free men, against forgery, against the judge who sentenced contrary to law;[a] against robbery of churches, or forcibly dragging persons thence, death.[b]

Not only were adulterers capitally punished, but whoever lent his house for the perpetration of the crime, or persuaded the woman to its perpetration.[c] Rape of a freewoman or virgin was death, which extended to all who were aiding or abetting. Parents neglecting to prosecute for rape on a girl under age were condemned to exile. The consenting female suffered death.[d]

[t] xc. 1.
[u] xcvii. colonus.
[v] lxii.
[x] lix.
[y] cvii.
[z] lxi.
[a] li.
[b] cxxv.
[c] xxxix. So also the Lombard Law, ccxii. A man might defend himself from a charge of adultery by an oath or by his champion.—ccxiv.
[d] xvii. xviii.

The law of divorce, however, remained Roman: it admitted the same causes, and was limited by the same restrictions.[e] The Edict of Athalaric against concubinage reduced the children of the free-born concubine to slavery. The slave-concubine was in the power of the matron, who might inflict any punishment short of bloodshed. Polygamy was expressly forbidden.[f]

The Lombard laws are issued by King Rotharis,[g] with the advice of his nobles.[h] The Burgundian, in their whole character, are intermediate between the Roman and Barbaric jurisprudence. The bishops first appear as co-legislators among the Visigoths already in France.

Clergy co-legislators.

Alaric the Visigoth adopts the abridgment of the Roman law, by the advice of his priests as well as of his nobles.[i] But it is in Spain, after the Visigoths had cast off their Arianism, that the bishops more manifestly influence the whole character of the legislation. The synods of Toledo were not merely national councils, but parliaments of the realm.[k] After the ecclesiastical affairs had been transacted, the bishops and nobles met together, and with the royal sanction enacted laws.[m] The people gave their assent. The King himself is subject to the Visigothic law. The unlawful usurper of the Crown is subject to ecclesiastical as well as to civil penalties, to excommunication as well as to death. Even ecclesiastics consenting to such treason are to be involved in the interdict. These ecclesiastical lawgivers, while they arm themselves with great powers for the public good, claim no immunity. Bishops are liable to fines for disregard of judges' orders.[n] The clergy are amenable to the same penalty for contumacy as the laity.[o] But great powers are given to the bishops to restrain unjust judges, even the counts.[p] The terrible

[e] liv. [f] VII. vi.

[g] The laws of Rotharis were written seventy-six years after the invasion of Italy by the Lombards. The Lombards, it must be remembered, were still Arians. The church, therefore, is not co-legislative with the nobles.

[h] "Cum primatibus meis judicibus." —Præfat. in Canciani, vol. i.

[i] "Adhibitis sacerdotibus ac nobilibus viris:" compare Canciani, in Præfat. p. xiii. Eichhorn, not reckoning the Edict of Theodoric, arranges the codes thus: I. Lex Visigothica—the origin of the Fuero Juzgo—which, however, has many late additions. II. Lex Salica. III. The Burgundian. IV. Ripuarica, Alemannica, Bavarica. These betray higher kingly power.

[k] Canciani, iv. p. 52.

[m] Leges Visigoth. ii. 1, 6.

[n] ii. 1, 18, ibid. [o] ii. 1. 29, 30.

[p] In the Visigothic code the observance of the Sunday and of holydays is

laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecutions of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry.

The Salic law proclaims itself that of the noble nation of the Franks, lately converted to the Catholic faith, and even while yet barbarians untainted with heresy. In a later sentence it boasts that it has enshrined in gold and precious stones the reliques of those martyrs whom the Romans burned with fire, slew with the sword, or cast to the wild beasts.[q] But it is the law of the King and the nobles: the bishops are not named, perhaps because as yet the higher clergy were still of Roman descent. Salic law.

Still, however, the Teutonic kings and Teutonic legislators at first perhaps in their character of conquerors, assumed supreme dominion over the Church as well as over the State, and the subject bishops bowed before the irresistible authority. St. Remigius violated a canon of the Church on the ordination of a presbyter at the command of Clovis.[r] Among the successors of Clovis no bishop was appointed without the sanction of the Crown.[s] Theodoric, son of Clovis, commanded the elevation of St. Nicetius to the see of Treves.[t] The royal power was shown in the shameless sale of bishopries.[u] The nomination or the assent of the clergy and the people was implied in the theory of the election, but often overborne by the awe of the royal authority.[x] The Council of Orleans, which condemned the sale of bishopries, fully acknowledged the supremacy of the royal will. A few years later a Council at Paris endeavoured to throw off the yoke. It declared the election to be in the clergy and the people. It disclaimed the royal mandate, and condemned the bishop

appointed by law. The holydays were fifteen at Easter, seven before, seven after. The Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Pentecost, Ascension, and certain days at harvest and vintage time.

[q] Apud Canciani, vol. ii. see p. 370.

[r] "Scribitis canonicum non fuisse quod jussit. . . . Præsul regionum, custos patriæ, gentium triumphator illud injunxit."—Epist. S. Remigii; Bouquet, iv. p. 52.

[s] Planck, ii. 114. A.D. 529.

[t] "Eum ad episcopatum jussit accersiri."—Gr. Tur.

[u] "Jam tunc germen illud iniquum cœperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus, aut compararetur a clericis."—Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. vi. 3.

[x] "Ut nulli episcopatum præmiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci: sed cum *voluntate regis* juxta electionem cleri ac plebis," &c. A.D. 549. Concil. Can. 10.

who should dare to obtain ordination through the King to be excluded from the fellowship of the bishops of the province.[y] But the fierce Frankish sovereigns, while they appeared to accede to these pretensions, trampled them under foot. The right seems to follow them in their career of conquest. Dalmatius, Bishop of Rhodez, in his last will, besought the King, under the most terrible adjurations, not to grant his office to a foreigner, a covetous person, or a married man.[z] In 562 a Synod, held under Leontius, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, deposed the Bishop Emerius, as consecrated by a decree of King Chlotaire without his sanction. When the new Bishop Herculius presented himself at Paris, "What!" exclaimed King Charibert, "do men think that there is no son of Chlotaire to maintain his father's decrees, that ye dare to degrade a bishop appointed by his will?" He ordered the rash intruder to be thrown into a cart strewn with thorns, and so sent into banishment; the Bishop Emerius to be reinstated by holy men. He fined the synod. The royal prerogative was perpetually asserted down at least to the time of Charlemagne.[a]

In the Gothic kingdom of Spain, so long as it was Arian, the kings interfered not in the appointment of bishops. Their orthodox successors left, it should seem, affairs to take their own course.[b c] But towards the close of the seventh century the Council of Toledo acknowledged the King as invested with the right of electing bishops.[d]

[y] "Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et cleri corum electio plenissimâ quæsierit voluntate. *Non principis imperio*, neque per quamlibet conditionem, contra metropolis voluntatem vel episcoporum provincialium ingeratur. Quod si *per ordinationem regium* honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimiâ temeritate præsumpserit, a comprovincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebitè ordinatum agnoscunt."—Can. viii.

[z] Gregor. Tur. v. 47.

[a] Gregor. Tur. iv. 26. Loëbel observes that Gregory, from his expression, "Et sic principis ultus est injuriam," thought the king in the right.

[b] See instances in Loëbel. King Guntran, in 584, rejected (it seemed an extraordinary case) gifts for episcopal appointments. "Non est principatus nostri consuetudo sacerdotium venundare sub pretio, sed nec vestrum cum præmiis comparare: ne et nos turpis lucri infamiâ notemur, et vos mago Simoni comparemini."—Greg. Tur. vi. 39.

[c] Pope Hilarius laid before a synod at Rome a letter of the Tarragonian bishops complaining that in the other provinces of Spain episcopal elections had ceased. The bishop nominated his successor in his testament.—Baron. sub ann. 466.

[d] "Quod regiæ potestâtis sit episcopos eligere."

Ecclesiastical synods were only held by royal permission. Their decrees required the royal sanction.[e] This theory may be traced through the numerous synods for ecclesiastical purposes in Gaul, between the conquest and the close of the sixth century.[f] In Spain the custom appears distinctly recognised under even Arian kings.[g]

As under the Roman law no one could elude civil office by retreating into holy orders. No decurion could be ordained without special permission. No freeman could be ordained in the Barbaric kingdoms without the consent of the king, because thereby the king lost his military service.[h]

Below the sovereign power the people maintained the right of joint election of the bishops with the clergy. This old Christian usage would fall in with the Teutonic habits. As the Teutons raised their king upon the buckler, and proclaimed him with the assent of the freemen of the tribe, so the acclamation of the people ratified or anticipated the nomination of the bishop.[i]

The clergy enjoyed no immunity from the laws of the land.[k] In criminal cases two successive Councils, at Macon and at Poictiers,[m] acknowledged that for all criminal offences, as homicide, robbery, witchcraft, to which the latter adds adultery, they were amenable to the civil jurisdiction.[n] At a later period the presence of the bishop was declared necessary.[o] If indeed the awe of the clergy might repress, or the obstinate claim to immunity em-

[e] Planck, ch. ii. p. 125; from 511 to 590, were held twenty-one Gallic synods: most of them have permission "gloriosissimi regis," or some such phrase.

[f] Planck, note, page 130.

[g] King Theudes, in 531, permits the orthodox bishops "in Toledanam urbem convenire, et quæcunque ad ecclesiasticam disciplinam pertinerent dicere, licenterque dicere."—Isid. in Chron. ad A.D. 531.

[h] Conc. Aurelian. A.D. 511, can. 6. confirmed by a capitulary, A.D. 805. I. c. 114.—Marculf. i. 19.—Præceptum de Clericatu.—Planck, 159.

[i] For the usage under the Roman dominion in Gaul, from the earliest period to the fifth century, see Raynouard, Histoire du Droit Municipal en France, i. ch. xxvi. It continued to the twelfth century.

[k] The appeal of the clergy to the civil courts for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances was strictly forbidden.—Concil. Tolet. iii. 13. Conc. Paris. A.D. 589. c. 13. Council under St. Recared, enacted, "Ne amplius liceat clericis conclericos suos relicto Pontifice ad judicia secularia pertrahere."—A.D. 589. c. 13.

[m] Concil. Matiscon. A.D. 581. Concil. Pictav.

[n] According to Gregory of Tours, Count Leudastes of Tours had, almost every day, when he sate in justice, priests brought before him in chains.—Lib. v. c. 49.

[o] Capit. i. 23.

barrass, the ordinary judge, the royal authority was neither limited by fear nor scruple.[p] Numerous instances occur of bishops treated with the most cruel indignity by the fierce Frankish sovereigns for real or imputed crimes.[q] At times indeed they submitted to the tardier process of a previous condemnation by an ecclesiastical synod. Prætextatus, Bishop of Rouen, was accused by King Chilperic as an accomplice in the rebellion of his son, before a synod in Paris. Prætextatus was in danger of being dragged from the church and stoned by the Franks. The bishops were prepared to utter the ban. But his defence was undertaken by the historian, Gregory of Tours. Neither fear nor bribery could deter the intrepid advocate from maintaining the innocence of the bishop.[r] When the King could not obtain his condemnation,[s] either the tearing his holy vesture, or the imprecation of the 108th Psalm against him, or even his exclusion from Christian communion, Prætextatus was suddenly hurried away to prison; on his attempt to escape, grievously beaten and sent into exile.[t] This transaction, notwithstanding its melancholy close, shows some growing respect for ecclesiastical tribunals in cases even of high treason. The Spanish kings threaten bishops with royal as well as ecclesiastical censure.[u]

There were appeals from ecclesiastical synods to the Crown; in some cases the royal authority interposed to mitigate or to relieve from ecclesiastical penalties.[x]

But there is a strong converse to this subjection of the Church to the power of the King or the nobility. Already in the sixth and seventh centuries, the bishops appear in

[p] At the end of the sixth century the civil authorities in Spain took upon them to enforce clerical continence. They visited the houses of the clergy, and took out all suspicious females. With the consent of the bishops, who seem to have approved of this procedure, they might seize the women as slaves.—Concil. Hispal. 3.

[q] Greg. Tur. vi. 24.

[r] "Ducentas argenti libras promisit, si Prætextatus, me impugnante opprimeretur."

[s] Gregory himself admits the supremacy of the king over the clergy. "Si quis de nobis, o rex, justitiæ tramitem transcendere voluerit a te corrigi potest; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet?"

[t] Greg. Tur. v. 18.

[u] Planck, ii. 188.

[x] See the curious Hist. of the Royal nuns (Greg. Tur. x. 20), and the excommunication of Archbishop Sisibert of Toledo: "Ut in fine vitæ tantum communionem accipiat, excepto, si regia pietas antea eum absolvendum crediderit."—A.D. 693. Planck, p. 194.

all the great assemblies of the people.[y] They have a voice in the election of the King; before long, his coronation becomes a religious ceremony. It was not, according to one theory, that they succeeded the Druids of Gaul and the Teutonic priests in their dignity (the Druids and their religion had long ceased to maintain any influence, the German priests do not appear to have formed a part of the great warlike migrations of the tribes), nor that the bishops claimed the privilege of all free Franks to give their suffrage in the popular assembly. There were few of these regular parliaments; they were great councils summoned by the king. The position of the Bishops, their influence with the people, their rank in public estimation, their superior intelligence, designated them as useful members of such council. The later Gothic kings of Spain felt even more awe of the clergy: they had been rescued by their zeal, not merely from the terrible retribution which awaited heathenism, but from that of heresy. Their conversion to orthodoxy showed the power which the Latin clergy had obtained over their minds; and they would hasten to lay the first fruits of their gratitude, submission, and reverence, at the feet of the clergy. Nor were the affairs discussed at these great councils strictly defined. There was no distinct line between civil and religious matters. This distinction belongs to a later period of civilisation. The clergy were not unwilling to obtain the royal or the national assent to their spiritual decrees. The king naturally desired the intelligence, the love of order, the authority, the influence of the clergy, to ratify his civil edicts. The reciprocal rights of each party had been as yet too little contested to awaken that sensitive jealousy of interference which grew up out of centuries of mutual aggression.

But if in the great public assemblies the bishops had already taken this rank, each in his city held an authority partly recognised by law, partly resting on the general awe and reverence.[z] As in the East, the bishop had a general superintendence over the courts of law. He had,

[y] According to Eichhorn, the first manifest "Concilium mixtum" was in A.D. 615. From this emanated the constitutions of Chlotaire II. which recognized the temporal powers of the hierarchy.—i. p. 520.

[z] So King Chlotaire ordained.—Greg. Tur. vi. 31.

if not always the presidential, a seat in the judicial tribunal.[a] He was, if not by statute, by universal recognition, what the defensor had been in the old municipal system, only with all the increased influence of his religious character. To him the injured party could appeal in default of justice. He was the patron, the advocate of the poor. He had power to punish subordinate judges for injustice in the absence of the king. In Spain the Bishops had a special charge to keep continual watch over the administration of justice,[b] and were summoned on all great occasions to instruct the judges to act with piety and justice.[c]

Thus the clergy stood between the two hostile races in the new constitution of society—the reconcilers, the pacifiers, the harmonisers of the hostile elements. They were Latin in general in descent, in language, yet comprehending both races under their authority and influence; admitted to the councils of the Kings, and equal to the count or the noble in estimation; controlling one race by awe, looked up to by the other as their natural protectors; opposing brute force by moral and religious influences; supplying the impotency of the barbaric law to restrain oppression and iniquity (where every injury or crime had its commutative fine) by the dread of the religious interdict and the fears of hell; stooping unconsciously to the superstition of the times, but ruling more powerfully through that superstition; the guardians and protectors of the conquered, of the servile classes, whose condition was growing worse and worse, against the privileged free men; enduring, mitigating, when they could not control, the wild crimes of the different petty kings, who were constantly severing into fragments the great Frankish monarchy, and warring, intriguing, assassinating for each fragment—the Bishops during all that period, in Spain, in France, in Italy—

[a] On the residence of the bishops in the cities, its effect on the great increase in the power of the bishop, and on the freedom of the cities, compare Thierry. —Récits Mérovingiens, i. 266.

[b] "Ex decreto domini regis—simul cum sacerdotali concilio conveniant ut discant quam piè et justè cum populis agere debeant."—Concil. Tolet. iii. 38.

[c] "Sint prospectores episcopi qualiter judices eum populis agant, ut ipsos præmonitos corrigant, aut insolentiam eorum principum auribus innotescant. Quod si correptos emendare nequiverint, et ab ecclesiâ et a communione suspendant." —Ibid.: compare Leg. Visigoth. ii. 1, 29, 30; Synod. Tolet. A.D. 633, can. 32.

making every allowance for the legendary and almost adoring tone in which their histories have descended to us—appear as the sole representatives of law, order, and justice, as well as of Christian virtue and humanity. There is even a cessation of religious persecution, except against the Jews. After the extinction of Arianism, the human mind had sunk into such inactivity and barrenness that it did not even produce a new heresy. Except the peculiar opinions of Felix and Elipandus, down to the time when the monk Gotschalk started the question of predestination, the West slumbered in unreasoning orthodoxy.

Rights of persons under Barbaric codes.

A. The Barbaric codes, like the Roman, recognised slavery as an ordinary condition of mankind.[d] Man was still a marketable commodity. The captive in war became a slave; and it was happy for mankind that he became so, otherwise the wars which swept over the whole world, civilised and uncivilised, must have been wars of massacre and extermination. The victory of Stilicho over Rhadagaisus threw 200,000 Goths or other Germans into the market, and lowered the price of a slave from twenty-five pieces of gold to one.[e] The well-known story of the Anglo-Saxon youths who excited the compassion of Pope Gregory I. shows that in his time the public sale of slaves was still common in Rome. The redemption of captives—that is the repurchase of slaves in order to restore them to freedom—is esteemed an act of piety in the West as in the East. The first prohibition of this traffic, both by law and by public sentiment, was confined to the sale of Christians to pagans, Jews, and in some cases to heretics. The Jews were the great slave-merchants of the age.[f] But it was the religion rather than the personal freedom which was taken under the protection of the law. The capture and sale of men was part of the piratical system along all the shores of Europe, especially on the northern coasts. The sale of pagan prisoners of war was authorised by Clovis after the defeat of the Ale-

[d] The church lived according to the Roman law: "Legem Romanam qua ecclesia vivit."—Eichhorn, i. 297. In the Ripuarian law the wehrgeld of the clergyman was at first according to his birth, "Servus ut servum;" afterwards according to his ecclesiastical rank.—Ibid.

[e] Orosius, vii. 37.

[f] Hist. of Jews, iii.

manni; by Charlemagne after that of the Saxons; by Henry the Fowler, as to that unhappy race which gave their name to the class—the Slaves.[g]

Marriages of slaves.

The barbarian codes seem to acknowledge the legality of marriages between slaves, and their religious sanctity; that of the Lombards on the authority of the Scriptural sentence, "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." All unlawful connexion with married or unmarried slaves is forbidden.[h] The slave who detected his wife in adultery might, like the free man, kill the two criminals.[i] Still, however, they were slaves. The law interfered to prohibit marriages between the slaves of different masters. If the marriage took place without the consent of the master, the slave was punishable, by the Salic law, either by a mulct of three pence, or was to receive a hundred stripes. The later laws became more lenient, and divided the offspring between the two masters.

Marriage of freemen and slaves.

The barbarian codes were as severe as the Roman in prohibiting the debasing alliance of the free man with the slave. The Salic and Ripuarian law condemned the free man guilty of this degradation to slavery;[k] where the union was between a free woman and a slave, that of the Lombards[m] and that of the Burgundians[n] condemned both parties to death; but if her parents refused to put her to death, she became the slave of the crown. The Ripuarian law condemned the female delinquent to slavery; but the woman had the alternative of killing her base-born husband. She was offered a distaff and a sword. If she chose the distaff, she became a slave; if the sword, she struck it to the heart of her paramour, and emancipated herself from her degrading connexion.[o] The Visigothic law condemned the female who had connexion with or wished to marry her own slave, or even a freed man, to death.[p] For the same offence with the slave of another, both were punished with a hundred stripes. For the fourth offence the woman became the handmaid of the

[g] Compare Biot, p. 185, De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en Occident. Paris, 1840.
[h] Lex Salic. tit. xxviii.
[i] Lex Salic. xxviii. 5.
[k] Lex Sal. xxiv. v. 3; Lex Ripuar. lviii. 9.
[m] ccxxii.
[n] Tit. xxxv. 2.
[o] Lex Ripuar. lviii. 18.
[p] Lex Visigoth. iii. ii. 2.

slave's master. The Saxon law still more sternly interdicted all marriages below the proper rank, whether of nobles, free men, or slaves, under pain of death. The laws of the Lombards and of the Alemanni were more mild. The latter allowed the female to separate from her slave husband on certain conditions, if she had not degraded herself by any servile occupation.[q]

Under the barbarian as under the Roman law, the slave was protected chiefly as the property of his master. All injury or damage was done to the thing rather than the person, and was to be paid for by a mulct to the owner, not a compensation to the sufferer.[r] By the edict of Theodoric, he who killed the slave of another might be prosecuted for homicide, or sued by a civil process, for the delivery of two slaves in place of the one killed.[s] But slaves bore the penalty of their own offences, and even of those of their masters. If guilty of acts of violence, though under their masters' orders, they suffered death.[t] The slave was not to be tortured, except to prove the guilt of his master, unless the informer would pay the master his value. If bought in order to suppress his evidence, he might be repurchased at the same price, and put to the torture.[u] The right of life and death still subsisted in the master. According to some of the barbaric codes, here retrograding from the Roman, he had full power to make away with his own property. This usage, noticed by Tacitus as common to the German tribes, continued to the Capitularies of Charlemagne. That code adopts the Mosaic

[q] Adam. Brem., Hist. Eccles. i. 5. By the Bavarian law, a slave committing fornication with a free woman was to be given up, to be put to death if they pleased, to the parents, and not to pay any mulct: "quia talis præsumptio excitat inimicitias in populo."—ii. ix.

[r] In the Burgundian law, the murder of a slave is only punished by a fine, according to his value.[a] The humaner Visigothic code distinctly prohibited the murder of a slave. The punishment was fine and infamy. Another law recognised the image of God in the slave, and therefore interdicted his mutilation.

[a] Tit. x.; Leges Visigoth. vi, v. 12; Law of Egiça, vi. v. 13.

[s] The Burgundian law shows that the artisans in the mingled Roman and barbarian society were chiefly slaves. "Quicunque vero servum suum aurificem, argentarium, ferrarium, fabrum ærarium, sartorem vel sutorem, in publico adtributum artificium exercere permiserit," &c.—Tit. xxi.

[t] Art. lxxvii.

[u] Art. c. ci. By the Bavarian law, if a slave was unjustly put to the torture, the false accuser of the slave was to give another slave to the master; if the slave died under torture, two.[b]

[b] Tit. viii. 18, 1, 2.: compare Burgundian law, Tit. vii.

provisions.[x] Under Lewis the Debonnaire and Lothair, the arbitrary murder of a slave was punished by excommunication or two years' penance.[y]

The runaway slave was the outcast of society. At first he was denied the privilege of asylum.[z] It was a crime to conceal him; he might be seized anywhere; punished by his master according to his will; and according to some codes he might be slain in case of resistance. The influence of the Church appears in some singular and contradictory provisions.[a] The Churches themselves were slaveholders.[b] There were special provisions to protect their slaves. By the law of the Alemanni, whoever concealed an ecclesiastic's slave was condemned to a triple fine.[c] In the Bavarian law, whoever incited the slave of a church or a monastery to flight, must pay a mulct of fifteen solidi, and restore the slave or replace him by another. The Church gradually claimed the right of asylum for fugitive slaves. The slave who had taken refuge at the altar was to be restored to his master only on his promise of remitting the punishment.[d]

As under the Roman law, peculiar solemnity attached to the emancipation of the slave in the church and before the priest; and emancipation thus became an act of piety. So in some of the Teutonic codes, as in the Visigothic, emancipation before the parish priest was an ordinary act recognised by the law. It was a common form that it was done by the pious man for the remedy or the ransom of his soul.[e]

Easter was usually the appointed time for this public manumission in the churches; and no doubt the glad in-

[x] Exod. xxi. 20, 21.

[y] Dachery, Spicileg. Addit. ad Cap. c. 49; Biot, p. 286.

[z] Edict. Theodor. lxx.; Leg. Longobard. cclxxvii.

[a] Lex Salica; Lex Ripuar. xiv.

[b] "Non v' era anticamente Signor Secolare, Vescovo, Abbate, Capitolo di Canonici, e Monastero, che non avesse al suo servigio molti servi." Manumission was more rare among the clergy than among secular masters, because it was an alienation of the property of the church.—Muratori, Ant. Italian. Diss. lxv.

[c] Lex Alemann. 3.

[d] Concil. Aurelian.: compare the Visigothic law, ix. 1, de fugitivis.

[e] Leges Visigoth. v. vii.: compare note of Canciani, and the 15th Dissertation of Muratori. This began early both in East and West. "Servum tuum manumittendum manu ducis in ecclesiam. Fit silentium. Libellus tunc recitatur, aut fit desiderii tui prosecutio." —S. August. Serm. xxxi. It was done pro remedio, or pro mercede animæ suæ.

fluences of that holy season awoke the disposition and the emulation, in many Christian minds, of conferring the blessing of freedom upon their slaves.

Gregory the Great seems to have been the first who enfranchised slaves on the pure and noble principle of the common equality of mankind.

But the great change in the condition of the servile order arose chiefly from other causes, besides the influence of Christianity. This benign influence operated no doubt in these indirect ways to a great extent, first on the mitigation, afterwards on the abolition of domestic slavery; but it was perhaps the multiplication of slaves which to a certain extent slowly wrought its own remedy. The new relations of the different races consequent on the barbaric conquests, the habits of the Teutonic tribes settled within the Empire, the attachment of the rural or prædial slave to the soil, the change of the slave into the serf, which became universal in Europe, tended in different ways to the general though tardy emancipation. The serf was immoveable as the soil: he became as it were part of it, and so in some degree beyond the caprice or despotism of his master. Already under the Empire, the system of taxation had affixed the peasant to the soil: the owner paid according to the number of heads of slaves, as he might of cattle. Whether the cultivators were originally born on the estate ascribed to them, or settled upon it, they were equally irremoveable. No one could sell his estate, and transfer the slaves to another property. The estates of the Church were no doubt, as they yet enjoyed no immunity of taxation, subject to the same laws. It may be generally said that the whole cultivation of the Roman empire was conducted, if not by slaves, by those whose condition did not really differ from slavery. The emancipation began at a period in the Christian history, centuries later than that at which we are arrived at present.[f]

[f] Tit. xl.–xlviii.: compare the Justinian code "De agricolis et censitis et colonis." Law of Constantius, i.—Law of Valentinian and Valens. "Omnes omninæ fugitivos adscriptitios, colonos vel inquilinos, sine ullo sexus, muneris conditionisque discrimine ad antiquos penates, ubi *censiti* atque educati natique sunt, provinciis præsidentes redire compellant." On the change of the slave into the serf in the Carlovingian times, compare Lahuërou, Institutions Carlovingiennes, page 204 *et seq.*

The barbaric codes, as well as the edict of Theodoric,[g] retained the high Teutonic reverence for the sanctity of marriage. In the Burgundian law, adultery was punishable by death.[h] In all cases it rendered the woman infamous. A widow guilty of incontinency could not marry again—at least could not receive dower. In the Visigothic code the adulteress and her paramour were given up to the injured husband, to be punished according to his will: he might put them to death.[i] The law of divorce under the Burgundian law was Roman, excepting that the woman who divorced her husband without cause, according to an old German usage as to infamous persons, was smothered in mud.[k] Among the Visigoths, divorce was forbidden, excepting for adultery. Incest, by the Visigothic law, was extended to the sixth degree of relationship. Rape was punished by confiscation of property, or failing that, by reduction to slavery.[m] This code contained a severe statute against public prostitutes, rendering them liable to whipping. Incontinence in priests was corrected by penance; the woman was to be whipped. The former statute was in that stern tone towards unchastity which in the Goths Salvian contrasts with the impurity of Roman manners.[n] The later laws seem gradually to soften off into mulcts or compositions for these as for other crimes.

But among the yet un-Romanised Saxons, down to the days of St. Boniface, the maiden who has dishonoured her father's house, or the adulteress, is compelled to hang herself, is burned, and her paramour hung over the blazing pile;[o] or she is scourged or cut to pieces with knives by all the women of the village till she is dead.

[g] See above.

[h] Tit. lxviii. and lii.

[i] Leges Visigoth. iii. iv. 14 *et seq.*

[k] Necetur in luto, xxxiv. 1. "Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injectâ super crate, mergunt."—Tacit. Germ. c. xii.

[m] Tit. iii. vi. Unnatural crimes were punished by castration. By the Bavarian law, whoever took away a nun to marry her committed adultery. "Scimus illum crimini obnoxium esse qui alienam sponsam rapit, quanto magis ille obnoxius est crimini qui Christi usurpavit sponsam."—xii. 1.

[n] iii. iv. 17. "Esse inter Gothos non licet scortatorem Gothum, soli inter eos præjudicio nationis ac nominis permittuntur impuri esse Romani."—Salvian. de Gub. Dei, vii. Lahuërou, however, observes: "Voyez quelle énorme disproportion la loi met entre les obligations et les devoirs des deux époux! Le mari peut être infidèle autant de fois et à tel degré qu'il le voudra, sans que la femme ait le droit de s'en plaindre." The German woman was in fact, though in a less degree than the Roman, the property of her husband.—Lahuërou, Institutions Carlovingiennes, p. 38.

[o] A.D. 743. Bonifac. Epist. ad Ethelbal. Reg. Merciæ.

B. In the barbaric as in the Roman code, the law of property might seem enacted with the special view of securing to the Church wealth which could not but be constantly accumulating, and could never diminish. Every freeman might leave his property to the Church. No duke or count had a right to interfere. The heir who ventured to reclaim such dedicated property was liable to the judgment of God and to excommunication, recognised in more than one code.[p] The freeman might retain to himself and so enjoy the usufruct during his own life, and leave his heirs beggars. The proofs of such donations were all to the advantage of the Church. The barbaric codes left the clergy to secure the inalienability of their property by their own laws. At first, and until the Bishop began to be merged in the temporal feudatory, it was comparatively safe in its own sanctity. In the division of the conquered lands by the barbarians, the Church estates remained sacred. The new converts could not show their sincerity better than by their prodigality to the Church. Clovis and his first successors, ignorant of the value of their new acquisitions, awarded large tracts of land with a word. St. Remigius received a great number of lands to be distributed among the destitute churches. Their successors complained of this thoughtless prodigality. Already they had discovered that the royal revenues had been transferred to the Church.[q] The whole Teutonic law, which appointed certain compensations for certain crimes, would have suggested, had suggestion been necessary, the commutation system of the Church. God, like the free man or the King, might be propitiated by the wehrgeld; the penance of the Christian be compensated by a pecuniary mulct. Already Queen Fredegunde satisfies the conscience of two hesitating murderers whom she would employ to assassinate her brother-in-law, King Sigebert, by the promise of large alms to the Church, in order to secure them from hell or purgatory.[r] So rapidly and alarmingly was the Church in France becoming rich, that King Chilperic

Law of property.

[p] Lex Alemann. et Lex Burgund., in initio.

[q] "Ecce, aiebat Rex, pauper remansit fiscus noster, et divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatæ."—Greg. Tur. vi. 46.

[r] Gesta Francorum. Planck, ii. 199.

passed a law annulling all testaments in which the Church was constituted heir; but Gunthran, not long after, repealed the sacrilegious statute, and these murderous and adulterous and barbarous kings and nobles were again enabled to die in peace, confident in the remission of their sins by the sacrifice of some portion of their plunder (the larger the offering the more secure) on the altar of God.[s]

But the barbarous times which bestowed so lavishly were by no means disposed superstitiously to respect the property of the Church. It was often but late in life that the access of devotion came on, while through all the former part, either by right of conquest, by terror, or by bribery, the barbarian had not scrupled to seize back the consecrated land. Even kings were obliged to ratify and solemnise their own grants by synods or by national assemblies.[t] The deepening of the imprecations uttered by these synods against robbers of the Church shows their necessity. They began to be guarded by all the terror of superstition; wild legends everywhere spread of the awful and miraculous punishments which had fallen on such offenders.[u] In a few centuries the deliverer of Europe from the Mahommedan yoke, Charles Martel, was plunged into hell, and revealed in his torments to the eyes of men, as a standing and awful witness to the inexpiable sin of sacrilege.

The property of the Church as yet enjoyed no immunity from taxation. Gradually special exemptions were granted. At length the manse of the church (a certain small farm or estate) was entirely relieved from the demands of the state. Even the claim to absolute freedom from contribution to the public expenses was of a much later period.[x]

[s] All the laws acknowledged the right of alienating some portion from the rightful heir, "pro remedio animæ," or in "remissionem peccatorum." There are legal formulæ in Marculf to this effect. Some codes, however, prohibited the absolute disinheritance of the right heir for the good of the church.—Eichhorn, p. 359: compare 363 *et seqq.*

[t] In a synod at Valence, King Gunthran demanded the ratification of all the gifts which he, his wife, and daughters had bestowed on the church. All plunderers of this property "anathemate perpetui judicii divini plectendi atque supplicii æterni obnoxii tenendi sunt." King Dagobert confirmed his legacies in a parliament, the legacies which he had bequeathed "memor malorum quæ gesserit."—Planck, 203.

[u] Gregory of Tours is full of such tales.

[x] Planck, ii. ch. vii. King Chlotaire, in 540, demanded a third part of the revenue of the church as an extraordinary loan.—Greg. Tur. iv. 2.

C. The criminal law of the barbaric codes tended more and more to the commutation of crime or injury for a pecuniary mulct. High treason alone, compassing the death of the King, corresponding with the enemies of the realm, or introducing them within its frontier, was generally a capital crime. Yet in the Visigothic code the capital punishment of treason could be commuted for putting out the eyes, shaving the hair, scourging, perpetual imprisonment, or exile, with confiscation and attainder, and in this case the criminal could not make over his property to the Church.[y] Such donations were void. But of all crimes the King had power of pardon with the consent of the clergy and the great officers of his palace. The Bavarian law adds sedition in the camp to acts of treason, but even this might be forgiven by the royal mercy.[z] As to other crimes, except adultery and incest, it was Teutonic usage, not Christian humanity, which abrogated the punishment of death. In the Burgundian law homicide is still a capital crime; but gradually the life of every man below the King is assessed, according to his rank, at a certain value, and the wehrgeld may be received in atonement for his blood.[a] Even the sacred persons of the clergy had their price, which rises in proportionate amount with their power and influence. By the Bavarian law, should any one kill a bishop lawfully chosen,[b] a tunic of lead was to be fitted to the person of the bishop, and the commutation for his murder was as much gold as that tunic weighed: if the gold was not to be had, the same value in money, slaves, houses, or land; if the offender had none of these, he was sold into slavery. Nor was it life only which was thus valued; every wound and mutilation of each particular member of the body was carefully registered in the code, and estimated according as the man was noble, freeman, slave, or in holy orders. The slave alone was still liable to capital punishment for

Criminal law of barbarians.

Lex Lombard. Lex Visigoth.

[y] Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 2.

[z] "Et ille homo qui hæc commisit benignum imputet regem aut ducem si ei vitam concesserit."—Lex Bavar. ii. iv. 3.

[a] Parricide alone, by the Visigothic law, was punished by the same death as that inflicted.

[b] "Si quis episcopum quem constituit rex, vel populus elegit."—Lex Bavar. xi. 1.

certain offences;[c] the Visigothic code condemned him to be burned.[d] Torture was not only, according to Roman usage, to be applied to slaves, but even to freemen in certain cases.[e]

The privilege of asylum within the Church is recognised in most of the barbaric codes.[f] It is asserted in the strongest terms, and in terms impregnated with true Christian humanity, that there is no crime which may not be pardoned from the fear of God and reverence for the saints.[g] As yet perhaps the awe of the Christian altar only arrested justice in its too hasty and vindictive march, and in these wild times gave at least a temporary respite for the innocent victim to obtain liberty that he might plead his cause against the fierce populace or the exasperated ruler, for the man of doubtful guilt to obtain a fair trial, or for the real criminal to suffer only the legal punishment for his offence. As yet the priest could not shield the heinous criminal. By the Visigothic code he was compelled to surrender the homicide.[h] With the ruder barbarians the sanctity of holy places came in aid of the sacerdotal authority, and in those savage times no doubt the notion that it was treason against God to force even the most flagrant criminal from his altar, protected many innocent lives, and retarded the precipitancy even of justice itself.[i] The right was constantly infringed by violent kings or rulers, but rarely without strong remonstrance from the clergy; and terrible legends were spread abroad of the awful punishments which befel the violaters of the sanctuary.[k]

Already, in the earliest codes, appears the abrogation of the ordinary tribunals of justice by appeal to arms, and to the judgment of God: even the Burgundian law admits the trial by battle.[m]

[c] For theft, by the Burgundian law, or by scourging.—iv. 2.

[d] Lex Visigoth. iii. iv. 14.

[e] Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 2, ii. iv. 4.

[f] On the subject of asylum, compare the excellent dissertation of Paolo Sarpi, De jure Asylorum.—Opera, iv. p. 191.

[g] "Nulla sit culpa tam gravis, ut non remittatur, propter timorem Dei et reverentiam sanctorum."—Lex Bavar. vii. 3. It was an axiom of the Roman law, "Templorum cautela non nocentibus sed læsis datur a lege."—Justin. Novell. xvii. 7.

[h] Lex Visigoth. vi. v. 16.

[i] See Greg. Tur. vii. 19; iv. 18.

[k] Restrictions were placed on this undefined right. In a capitular of 779—"Homicidæ et cæteri rei, qui mori debent legibus, si ad ecclesiam confugerint, non excusentur, neque eis ibidem victus detur."

[m] Tit. xlv.

The ordeal is a superstition of all nations and of all ages. God is summoned to bear miraculous witness in favour of the innocent, to condemn the guilty.[n] The Ripuarian law admits the trial by fire,[o] the Visigothic by red-hot iron.[p] The Church, at a later period, took the ordeal under its especial sanction. There was a solemn ritual for the ceremony.[q] It took place in the church. The scalding water, the red-hot iron, or the ploughshare were placed in the porch of the church and sprinkled with holy water. All the most awful mysteries of religion were celebrated to give greater terror and solemnity to the rite. Invention was taxed to discover new forms of appeal to the Deity; swearing on the Gospels, on the altar, on the reliques, on the host; plunging into a pool of cold water; he who swam was guilty, he who sunk innocent: they were usually held by a cord. There were ordeals by hot water, by hot iron, by walking over live coals or burning ploughshares.[r] This seems to have been the more august ceremony for queens and empresses—undergone by one of Charlemagne's wives, our own Queen Emma, the Empress Cunegunda. The ordeal went down to a more homely test, the being able to swallow consecrated bread and cheese.

The new crimes which the Christianity of these ages had introduced into the penal code of the Empire found their place in the barbaric codes. At first, indeed, they were left to the

[n] Compare Calmet and Grotius on Numbers v. 31, for the instances from classical antiquity. Pliny and Solinus mention two rivers which, either by scalding or blinding, detected perjury.—*H. N.* xxxi. 2, cap. xi.

ἦμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.
Sophocl. Antig. 264.

"Et medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia pruinâ."
Virg. Æneid. xi. 787.

Pliny, xi. c. 2.

[o] Tit. xxx.

[p] Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 3. See the very curious note of Canciani, and quotation from the Constitutions of Baeça on this passage.

[q] See the very remarkable ritual in Canciani, ii. 453.

[r] The ordeal was condemned in later days by many popes as tempting God: by Alexander II., Stephen X., Honorius III. Muratori thought that it was abolished in the twelfth century. Canciani quotes later instances. That of Savanarola, a real ordeal, might suffice. Even Canciani seems to look back upon it with some lingering respect: "Ego reor Deo Opt. Max. plus placuisse majorum nostrorum simplicitatem et fidem quam recentiorum sapientum acutissimam philosophiam." — Vol. ii. p. 293. Greg. Turon. de Martyr. 69, 70. All the ritualists, Martene, Mabillon, Ducange, under the different words, Muratori in two dissertations, one on the ordeal, one on duel, furnish ample citations. Almost all, however, are later than these primitive barbaric laws.

cognisance of the clergy, and to be visited by ecclesiastical penalties. The Arianism of the primitive Teutonic converts compelled the toleration of the laws, and retained a kind of dread of touching on such subjects in the earlier codes; but in proportion as the ecclesiastics became co-legislators, heresies became civil crimes, and liable to civil punishments.[s] The statutes of the orthodox Visigothic kings, so terrible against the Jews, were not more merciful to heretics. The Franks were from the first the army of orthodoxy; heretics were traitors to the state, as well as rebels against the Church, confederates of hostile Visigoths, or Burgundians, or Lombards.

Witchcraft was a crime condemned by the Visigothic law.[t] Its overt acts were causing storms, invocation of demons, offering nightly sacrifices to devils. The punishment was 200 stripes, and shaving the head. Consulting soothsayers concerning the death of the King was punished in a freeman by stripes and confiscation of property, and perpetual servitude: wizards guilty of poisoning suffered death.

III. But external to and independent of the Imperial Law and the constitutions of the new western kingdoms was growing up the jurisprudence of the Church, commensurate with the Roman world, or rather with Christendom. Every inhabitant of the Christian empire, or of a Christian kingdom, was subject to this second jurisdiction, which even by the sentence of outlawry, which it pronounced against heretics, assumed a certain dominion over those who vainly endeavoured to emancipate themselves from its yoke. The Church as little admitted the right of sects to separate existence, as the empire would endure the establishment of independent kingdoms or republics within its actual pale. Of this peculiar jurisprudence of the Church the clergy were at once the legislature and the executive. This double power tended more and more to concentration. In the State all power resided in the Emperor alone; the unity of the empire under a monarch inevitably tended to that of the Church under one visible

[s] Laws of Recared, xii. 2, 1.

[t] Lex Visigoth. vi. 2, 3. There was a singular provision against judges consulting diviners in order to detect witches.

head. As the clergy more and more withdrew itself into a privileged order, so the bishops withdrew from the clergy, the Metropolitans rose above the bishops, and the Bishop of Rome aspired to supreme and sole spiritual empire. Had Rome remained the capital of the whole world, the despotism, however it might have suffered a perpetual collision with the imperial power, ruling in the Eternal City, would probably have become, as far as ecclesiastical dignity, an acknowledged autocracy. A people habituated for centuries to arbitrary authority in civil affairs would be less likely to question it in religion. The original independence of the Christian character which induced the first converts in the strength of their faith to secede from the manners and usages as well as the religious rites of the world, to form self-governed republics, as it were, within the social system—this noble liberty had died away as Christianity became a hereditary, an established, an universal religion. Obedience to authority was inveterate in the Roman mind; reverence for law had sunk into obedience to despotic power; arbitrary rule seemed the natural condition of mankind. This unrepining, unmurmuring servility could not be goaded by intolerable taxation to resistance. Nothing less than religious difference could stir the mind into oppugnancy, and this difference was chiefly concentred in the clergy: when a heretic was in power the orthodox, when the orthodox the heretic, alone asserted liberty of action or of thought. In all other respects the law of the Church, as enacted by the clergy, was received with implicit submission. In the provinces, as the Presidents, or Prefects, or Counts, in their regular gradation of dignity, ruled with despotic sway, yet were but the representatives of the remote and supreme central power, so the Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs rose above each other, and culminated, as it were, to some distant point of unity. The Patriarchates had been fixed in the greatest cities of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These were the seats likewise of the highest provincial governments; the other chief provincial cities were usually the seats of local administration, and of the metropolitan sees; and so the stream of public business, civil

and ecclesiastical, was perpetually flowing to the same centre. It was at once the place at which all that remained, the shadow, as it were, of the old popular assemblies, as well as the ecclesiastical synods, were convened; appeals came thither from all quarters, imperial mandates were issued to the province or theme. On this principle Constantinople continued still to rise in influence; Alexandria for above a century resisted, but resisted in vain, the advancement of the upstart unapostolic See. The new Rome asserted her Roman dignity against the East, while on every favourable opportunity she raised up claims to independence, to equality, even to superiority, against the elder Rome, now a provincial city of the Justinian empire.

Rome was the sole Patriarchate of the West, the head and centre of Latin Christianity. Rome stood alone, almost without rival or reclamation. Ravenna, as the seat of empire under the exarchs, might aspire to independence, to equality; her pretensions were soon put down by her own impotence and by common opinion. Wherever the Latin language was spoken there was no rival to the supremacy of Rome. The African churches, distracted by the Donatists, oppressed and persecuted by the Arian Vandals, revived but as the churches of a province of the Eastern empire. Carthage was still one of the great cities of the world, her bishop the acknowledged head of the churches in Africa. But the African Church, though obedient to the East, after Justinian's conquest, and just emerging into ascendancy over the Arians, had neither ambition nor strength to assert independence. Of the Teutonic kingdoms founded within the ancient realm of Rome, three had been destroyed during the sixth century, those of the Ostrogoths in Italy, of the Vandals in Africa, of the Burgundians in France. Of the four which survived, the Lombard was still Arian, the Anglo-Saxon was heathen and not yet consolidated into one kingdom; those of the Visigoths in Spain and of the Franks in Gaul, if still of uncertain boundaries, and frequently subdivided in different proportions, accepted the supremacy of Rome as part of the Catholicism to which one had returned after a

long apostacy, with all the blind and ardent zeal of a new proselyte; the other, whose war-cry of conquest had been the Catholic faith, would bow down in awe-struck adoration before the head of that faith. The Latin clergy, who had made common cause with the Franks, would inculcate this awe as the most powerful auxiliary to their own dominion.

In the West the state of ecclesiastical affairs tended constantly to elevate the actual power of the single Patriarchate. The election of the bishops in the Roman provinces and in the new Teutonic kingdoms was in the clergy and the people. Strife constantly arose; the worsted party looked abroad for aid; if they found it not with the Metropolitan, they sought still further; and as the provincial of old appealed to Rome against the tyranny of the civil governor, so the clergy against the bishop, the bishop against the Metropolitan. They fled in the last resort to what might seem to be an impartial, at least might be a favourable tribunal.

The Clergy Latin.

But throughout these kingdoms there was another strong bond to Rome—the common interest of the Latin part of the community against the foreign and Teutonic. The old Roman aristocracy of the provinces, except in some municipal towns, perished or were degraded from their station by the new military aristocracy of the conquerors. But the clergy could not but continue, it has been seen that they did continue, for a considerable period to be Roman. They were thus a kind of peaceful force, bound together by common descent, and still looking to Rome as their parent. Nothing is known of the Arian clergy who accompanied the Goths, the Vandals, or the Lombards, and kept up the tradition of the heterodox faith, whether they too were chiefly Roman, or had begun to be barbarian.[u] The rare collisions which

[u] In the Collatio Episcoporum, where Avitus of Vienne challenged the Arian clergy to bring their conflicting doctrines to the issue of a public disputation, the head of the Arian clergy is named Boniface. The Arians (it is a Catholic account) were struck dumb, or replied only in unmeaning clamours; one sentence alone betrays the ground they took; they stood on the Scripture alone; the Catholics were præstigiatores; did they mean workers of false miracles? "Sufficere sibi se habere scripturam, quæ sit fortior omnibus præstigiis." The conference was in the year 419.—D'Achery, iii. p. 304.

are recorded, the general toleration, except among the Vandals in Africa, might lead to the conclusion that they were the Teutonic clergy of a Teutonic people, each contentedly worshipping apart from each other, as under its separate law, so under its separate religion, until the superior intelligence, the more ardent activity of the orthodox Latins, brought over first the kings and nobles, afterwards the people, as Recared in Spain and the later Lombard kings, to the unity of the Church. The toleration of the Arians, and even writers like Orosius admit that in Gaul the Goths and Burgundians treated the orthodox Christians as brothers, was, after all, but indifference, or ignorance that there was another form of Christianity besides that which they had been taught.[x] It was more often that the Catholics provoked than suffered persecution wantonly inflicted.[y] That submission which the Roman paid to the clergy out of his innate and inveterate deference for law, if not from servility, arose in the Teuton partly from his inherent awe of the sacerdotal character, partly from his conscious inferiority in intellectual acquirements.[z] No doubt already the Latin of the ordinary Church services had become, and naturally became more and more, a sacred language.[a] The Gothic version of the Scriptures was probably confined to that branch of the nation for which it had been made by Ulphilas: it could not have been disseminated widely. The Latin clergy, even if they had the will, could not,

[x] Orosius, vii. 33. There was a kind of persecution of some bishops in Aquitaine.—Sidon. Apoll. vii. 6. Modaharius the Goth, a citizen, not a clergyman, is named by Sidonius—the name sounds like Latinised Teutonism. Of Euric, Sidonius says, "Pectori suo catholici mentio nominis acet." At this time the bishoprics of Bourdeaux and eight others were vacant, no clergy ordained, the churches in ruins, herds pasturing on the grass-grown altars.

[y] See on the confederacy of the orthodox bishops in Burgundy with the Franks, ch. ii.

[z] Compare Paullus Diaconus on the conversion of the Lombards, iv. 44.

[a] I cannot refrain from quoting the observations of a modern writer:—"Christianity offered itself, and was accepted by the German tribes, as a law and as a discipline, as an ineffable, incomprehensible mystery. Its fruits were, righteousness by works (Werkheiligkeit), and belief in the dead word. But in a barbarous people it is an immense advance, an unappreciable benefit. Ritual observance is a taming, humiliating process; it is submission to law; it is the acknowledgment of spiritual inferiority; it implies self-subjection, self-conquest, self-sacrifice. It is not religion in its highest sense, but it is the preparation for it."—Ritter, Geschich., Christ. Philos. i. p. 40.

during the formation of the various dialects or languages which grew up in Europe, have translated the sacred books or the services of the Church into the ever-shifting and blending dialects. Till languages grew up, recognised as their own by nations, there could be no claim to a vernacular Bible or a vernacular Liturgy. Latin would establish a strong prescription, a prescription, in fact, of centuries; and that, as on the one hand it would tend to keep the clerical office chiefly in the hands of those of Latin descent, would likewise preserve the unity of which the centre was Rome.[b]

Rome throughout this period is still standing in more lonely pre-eminence: from various circumstances, perhaps from the continually shifting boundaries of the kingdoms, the Metropolitan power, especially in Gaul, only centuries later, if ever, assumed its full weight. On the other hand, that of the bishops over the inferior clergy became throughout the western kingdoms more arbitrary and absolute. The bishop stands alone, the companion and counsellor of kings and nobles, the judge, the ruler; the College of Presbyters, the advisers, the co-ordinate power with the bishop, has entirely disappeared. It is rarely at this period that we discern in history the name of any one below the episcopal rank. Even in the legends of this age we scarcely find a saint who is not a bishop, or at least, and that as yet but rarely, an abbot.[c] The monasteries at first claimed no exemption from the episcopal autocracy: they aspired not yet to be independent, self-governed republics. The primitive monks, laymen in every respect, would have shrunk from the awful assertion of superiority to the common law of subjection. The earlier councils prohibited the foundation of a monastery, even of a solitary cell, without the permission of the bishop. Gradually monks were ordained, that the communities might no longer depend for the services of religion on the parochial clergy; but this infringement on the profound humility of

[b] Planck supposes that for half a century after the conversion of the Franks the bishops were, without exception, Latin; about 566 appears a Meroveus, Bishop of Poitiers.—Greg. Tur. ix. 40; Planck, ii. 96. In the eighth century the clergy were chiefly from the servile class.—p. 159.

[c] Planck, ii. 368.

the monk was beheld with jealousy by the more rigid. S. Benedict admits it with reserve and caution. It was not till splendid monasteries were founded by religiously prodigal nobles, kings, and even prelates, and endowed with ample territories and revenues, that they were withdrawn from the universal subordination, received special privileges of exemption, became free communities under the protection of the King, or of the Pope.[d] The lower clergy were in fact in great numbers ordained slaves, slaves which the Church did not choose at hazard from the general servile class, but from her own serfs, and who were thus trained to habits of homage and submission. The first Franks or Goths who entered into holy orders would hardly be tempted by a less prize, or stoop to a lower dignity, than that of a bishop, except as far as it might be necessary to pass rapidly through the lower orders. The clergy were so entirely under the power of the bishop that a Spanish council thinks it necessary and seemly to secure them from arbitrary blows and stripes.[e]

The ecclesiastical jurisprudence, therefore, was entirely, as well as the administration of the law in its more solemn form, in the bishops. They alone attended the synods or councils, they alone executed the decrees. Their mandate or their sanction was necessary for every important act of religion.

The whole penitential system was under their control and rested on their authority. Private confession might be received, absolution for private offences be granted by the priest: public or notorious crimes could be remitted by the bishop alone.

Penitential system.

This ecclesiastical jurisprudence had its specific laws as ordinances for the government of the clergy; its more general statutes, which embraced all mankind. Every man, barbarian or Roman, under whichever civil law he lived, freeman or slave, was amenable to this

[d] Compare M. Guizot, Civilisation Moderne, Leçon xv., who has traced the change, and cites the authorities with his usual sagacity and judgment.

[e] "Ne passim unusquisque episcopus honorabilia membra sua presbyteros sive Levitas, prout voluerit et complacuerit, verberibus subjiciat et dolori."—Syn. Bracar. iv. A.D. 675, can. 7.

code, which had the penitential system for its secondary punishment; excommunication, which in general belief, if the excommunicated died unreconciled, was tantamount to eternal perdition, for its capital punishment. The excommunication as yet was strictly personal: it had not grown into the interdict which smote a nation or a country.

Of this twofold law, that over the clergy and that over the laity, the administration of the first was absolutely in the bishops—that of the second only more remotely, and in the last resort. The usual penalties were different. The sacred person of the priest had peculiar privations and penalties, in some respects more severe, in others more indulgent, chastisements. The attempt to reconcile the greater heinousness of the offence in the sinful priest with the respect for his order, led at times to startling injustice and contradiction.[f]

The delinquent clerk might be deprived for a time of his power of administering sacred things; he might be thrown back, an unworthy and a despised outcast, into the common herd of men, or rather lower than the common herd (for the ineffaceable ordination held him still in its trammels, in its responsibility, though he had forfeited its distinctions, its privileges), but even then the mercy of the Church provided courses of penance more or less long and austere, by which, in most cases, he might retrieve the past, and rise, to some at least, of his lost prerogatives. The monasteries, in later times, became a kind of penal settlements, where under strict provisions the exile might expiate his offences, work out the redemption of his guilt, if not permitted to return to the world, at least die in peace; at all events his degradation was concealed from a babbling and censorious world. Delinquencies of the clergy.

The law administered by the clergy, throughout the Christian polity, comprehended every moral or religious

[f] Throughout the Penitentials, the penalties are heavier on the clergy than the laity. For murder, a clerk did penance for ten years, three on bread and water; a layman three, one on bread and water. The clergy too were punished according to their rank, where one in inferior orders six, a deacon seven, a priest ten, a bishop twelve years.—Morinus.

act; and what act of man could be beyond that wide and undefined boundary? Whatever the Church, whatever the individual clergyman, declared to be sin (the appeal even to the bishop was difficult and remote), was sin. The timid conscience would rarely dare to judge for itself: the judge therefore was at once the legislator, the expounder of the law, the executioner of the law.[g]

Of the rest of the community.

This law had its capital punishment—excommunication, which absolutely deprived of spiritual life. Excommunication, in its more solemn form, was rarely pronounced by lower than bishops.[h] It was the weapon with which rival bishops encountered each other, which they reserved for enemies of high rank. It was the sentence of Councils only which cut off whole sects from the communion of the Church.

But excommunication in a milder form—the temporary or the enduring deprivation of those means of grace without which salvation was hopeless, the refusal of absolution, the key which alone opened the gates of heaven—was in the power of every priest: on his judgment, on his decree, hung eternal life, eternal death.

But though this, like all despotic irresponsible power, or power against which the mass of mankind had no refuge, was liable to abuse, was often no doubt abused, it was still constantly counteracted by the Penitentials which as wisely (lest men should break the yoke in utter despair) as mercifully, were provided by the religious code of Christianity. The Penitentials were part of the Christian law; how early part of the written law, is not quite clear; nor were they uniform, or in fact established by any universal or central authority—that of Pope or Council;[i] but they were

[g] "Itaque postquam criminum omnium occultorum pœna quibuslibet presbyteris concessa est, libelli Pœnitentiales præter canones conditi sunt in quibus hæc omnia distincte in simpliciorum presbyterorum gratiam et necessariam instructionem enarrabantur, ut pœnitentiarum imponendarum officio defungi possent."—Morinus. This work of Morinus de Pœnitentiâ affords ample and accurate knowledge on the history of the Penitential law, and of the different penitentials which prevailed in the Western churches.

[h] Public penance was at first only adjudged by the bishops.—Sirmond. de Pœnit. Public.; Opera, vol. iv.

[i] The three oldest were the Penitentials of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, of Bede, and the Roman. That of Rabanus Maurus obtained in Germany. —Morinus.

not the less an admitted customary or common law, a perpetual silent control on the arbitrary power of the individual priest, a guarantee as it were to the penitent, that if he faithfully submitted to the appointed discipline, he could not be denied the inappreciable absolution. The Penitentials thus, by regulating the sacerdotal power, confirmed it; that which might have seemed a hard capricious exaction became a privilege; the mercies of the law were indissolubly bound up with its terrors. However severe, monastic, unchristian, as enjoining self-torture; degrading to human nature, as substituting ceremonial observance for the spirit of religion; debasing instead of wisely humiliating; and resting in outward forms which might be counted and calculated, so many hours of fasting, so many blows of the scourge, so many prayers, so many pious ejaculations, for each offence—yet as enforcing, it might be, a rude and harsh discipline, it was still a moral and religious discipline. It may have been a low, timid, dependent virtue to which it compelled the believer, yet still virtue. It was a perpetual proclamation of the holiness and mercy of the Gospel. It was a constant preaching, on one hand, it might be of an unenlightened, superstitious Christianity, but still of Christianity. Yet, on the other hand, it was a recognition of a divine law, submission to a religion which might not be defied, which would not be eluded—a religion which would not deny its hopes to the worst, but would have at least resolutions, promises of amendment—the best security which it could obtain from the unreasoning and fallible nature of man. It aspired at least to effect that which no human law could do, which baffled alike imperial and barbaric legislation, to impose constraint on the unchristian passions and dispositions. When sacerdotal religion was, if not necessary, salutary at least to mankind, it was the great instrument by which the priesthood ruled the mind of man. If it increased the wealth of the clergy, it was wealth much of which lawless possessors, spoilers, robbers, had been forced to regorge. If it invested them with an authority as dangerous to themselves as to the world, that authority was better than moral anarchy. How-

ever administered, it was still law, and Christian law, grounded on the eternal principles of justice, humanity, and truth.[k]

[k] It will hereafter appear in our History how the penitential system degenerated into commutations for penance by alms (alms being only part of the penance, compensated for prayer), fasting, and other religious observances; alms regulated indeed by the rank and wealth of the transgressor, but with full expiatory value; commutations became indulgencies; indulgencies, first the remission of certain penitential acts, then general remissions of sins for definite periods, at length for periods almost approximating to eternity; and these for the easiest of religious duties, visits to a certain church, above all ample donations.

CHAPTER VI.

WESTERN MONASTICISM.

MONASTICISM ascended the papal throne in the person of Gregory the Great. As our history approaches this marked period in the annals of Latin Christianity, it is necessary to describe the rise and progress of those institutions, which at once tended so powerfully to propagate, to maintain, and to give its peculiar character to the Christianity of Western Christendom. Western monasticism

Western monasticism was very different from that of the East. It was practical more than speculative; it looked more to the performance of rigid duty, the observance of an austere ritual, the alternation of severe toil with the recitation of certain stated offices, or the reading appointed portions of sacred books, than to dreamy indolence and meditative silence, only broken by the discussion of controverted points of theology. Labour was part of the rule of all the eastern monks; it was urged by the wiser advocates of the monastic state, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, even Jerome: it was enforced in the law of the monastic life brought by Cassianus from the East;[a] and it is singular that it was first repudiated by Martin of Tours and his disciples;[b] yet the eastern element predominated over the rule almost throughout Greek Christianity. The Greek monks have done little or nothing to advance the cultivation of barren lands, for the arts, for knowledge, or for civilisation. But the hermits in the West were in general content contrasted with Eastern.

[a] "A labouring monk is troubled by one devil, an idle one by a host of devils." —Cassian, x. 23. Augustine wrote a book, de Opere Monachorum. M. Villemain has this striking observation: "De cette rude école du désert il sortait des grands hommes et des fous."—Mélanges, Eloquence Chrétienne, p. 356. The East had few great men, many madmen; the West, madmen enough, but still very many great men.

[b] Paulin de vit. Martini, l. ii. Sulpic. Severus, c. 7.

with the wild recesses of nature, and with a rigid but secret discipline. They had neither the ingenious nor the ostentatious self-tortures which were common in the East. They had no Stylites, men who stood for decades of years[c] on a lofty pillar, a pillar elevated in height as the saint drew nearer to heaven and to perfection[d]—as yet no rambling and vagabond monks, astonishing mankind by the public display of their miserable self-inflicted sufferings. Nor did Cœnobites disturb the peace of the western cities by crowding with arms in their hands, ready with unscrupulous and sanguinary fanaticism for slaughter, or worse than slaughter, in the maintenance of some favourite doctrine, or some favourite prelate. Under their founder in Northern France, Martin of Tours, they might lend their tumultuous aid in the demolition of some heathen shrine or temple; but their habits were usually those of profound peace; they aspired not yet to rule the world which they had forsworn: it was not till much later that their abbots, now endowed with enormous wealth, poured upon them by blind admiration of their holiness, assumed political existence. The western monks partook of that comparative disinclination to the more subtle religious controversy which distinguished Roman from Greek and Oriental Christendom. Excepting the school of semi-Pelagianism, propagated by the Oriental Cassianus among the monasteries in the neighbourhood of Marseilles (still to a certain extent a Greek city, and with the Greek language spoken around it), the monasteries were the seats of submissive, uninquiring orthodoxy. The monasteries were not as yet the asyla of letters. Both the ancient Latin prose and ancient Latin poetry were too repulsively and dangerously heathen to be admitted into the narrow cell or the mountain cloister. This dangerous tendency to intellectual indulgence which followed Jerome into his cave in Palestine, and could only be allayed by the scourge and unintermitting fast, as yet did not penetrate into the solitudes of the western recluses. But if the

[c] Fifty-six, according to Evagrius, t. iii. i. 13; Theodoret. Hist. Relig., p. 882.

[d] "The Gallic bishops ordered a pillar to be destroyed on which an ambitious Western aspired to rival the East."—Greg. Tur. i. 17. Compare Schroeck, viii. p. 231.

reason was suppressed with such unmitigated proscription, the imagination, while it shrunk from those metaphysic abstractions, which are so congenial to eastern mysticism, had full scope in the ordinary occurrences of life, which it transmuted into perpetual miracle. The mind was centered on itself; its sole occupation was the watching the emotions, the pulsations of the religious life; it impersonated its impulses, it attributed to external or to foreign but in-dwelling powers the whole strife within. Everything fostered, even the daily labour, which might have checked, carried on in solitude and in silence, encouraged the vague and desultory dreaminess of the fancy. Men plunged into the desert alone, or united themselves with others (for there is no contagion so irresistible as that of religious emotion) under a deep conviction that there was a fierce contest taking place for the soul of each individual, not between moral influences and unseen and spiritual agencies, but between beings palpable, material, or at least having at their command material agents, and constantly controlling the course of nature. All the monks' scanty reading was of the miracles of our Lord or his Apostles, or still more the legends of saints. Their singing was of the same subjects. Their fasts were to expel demoniacal possessions, their festivals to celebrate the actual presence of the tutelar saint. And directly the soul escaped, as it could not but escape, from the narrow internal world, it carried into the world without, not merely that awful reverence which sees God in everything, but a wondering ignorance of nature and of man, which made miracle the ordinary rather than the exceptional state of things. The scenes among which they settled were usually such as would promote this tendency—strange, desolate, gloomy, fearful, the interminable sea or desert, the mountain immeasurable by the eye, the unfathomed glen; in Italy volcanic regions, either cleft or distorted by ancient eruptions, and still liable to earthquake and disorder. Their solitudes ceased to be solitary; they were peopled with sounds, with apparitions unaccountable and therefore supernatural. Wherever a few met together, they met upon the principle of encouraging each other, of vying with each other,

of measuring the depth of their faith by their unhesitating belief. The state of mind was contagious; those around them were mostly peasants, serfs, who admired their austerities, reverenced their holiness; and whom, even if their credulity outran their own, they would not disabuse lest they should disturb instead of deepen their religious impressions. When they went still further forth into the world, the fame of their recluse sanctity, of their miracle-working holiness preceded them. Men were prepared for wonders, and he who is prepared for wonders will usually see them. Emulation, zeal for the glory of their founder, the awe, often the salutary awe, which controlled multitudes, the mind unbalanced by brooding upon itself, and the frame distempered by the wildest ascetic usages, the self-walled, self-barred, the sunless dreary dungeons, which they made themselves in the midst of populous cities, wrought the same effects on the monks in Rome, or Milan or Tours. Thus religion, chiefly through monasticism, conspired with barbarism to throw back mankind into a new childhood, a second imaginative youth. The mythic period of Christianity had begun and continued for centuries; full of the materials of poetry, producing a vast mass of what was truly poetic, but wanting form and order, destined to await the creation of new languages before it should culminate in great Christian poems, commencing with the Divine Comedy and closing with the Paradise Lost.

Early monasticism in the West.

Monasticism, as we have seen, was introduced into the West by the authority and by the writings of the great Athanasius. In the time of Jerome it had found its proselytes among the patricians and high-born matrons and virgins of Rome. Many monasteries in that city excited the admiration of Augustine;[e] and that of Nola, celebrated by S. Paullinus, did not stand alone in Southern Italy.[f] Milan[g] vied with Rome in the antiquity, in the severe sanctity of her monastery, which rose

[e] De Morib. Eccl. c. 33.

[f] Ambros. Epist. lxiii. S. August. Confess. iv. 6.

[g] "Constructâ statuit requiescere cellâ
Heic ubi gaudentem nemoris vel palmitis umbris
Italiam pingit pulcherrima Mediolanum."
Paul. in vit. S. Mart.
The Western monks already loved the beauties of nature.

in one of the suburbs under the fostering care of S. Ambrose; and Ambrose acknowledged that he had but followed the holy example of Eusebius of Vercelli. Monasticism had now spread throughout the West. In the recesses of the Apennines; in the secluded islands along the coast of Italy; in Gaul, where it had been disseminated by the zeal of Martin of Tours; in Ireland; in the parts of Britain yet unwasted by the heathen Saxons; in Spain; in Africa, these young republics rose in all quarters, and secluded themselves from the ordinary duties, occupations, pursuits, and as they fondly thought, the passions and the sins of men. In Gaul the earliest monasteries were those of Ligugé, near Toulouse, and of Tours, both founded by S. Martin, of the Isle Barbe, in the Saone above Lyons, Toulouse, in the Islands of the Hieres and of Lerins. Cæsarius, the Bishop of Arles, whom his age considered to unite in an unparalleled degree the virtues of the ecclesiastic and the monk, and Cassianus, who, originally an Oriental, settled at Marseilles, and endeavoured to realise in his monastery of St. Victor in that city the severity of his institutes, maintained and extended the dominion of monasticism in that province. The settlements of Columban will appear as the great initiatory measure which prepared and accomplished the conversion of Germany.

But even now no kingdom of the West is inaccessible to the rapid migrations, or sudden apparitions of these religious colonies.

In Spain.

The origin of Spanish monasticism is obscure. It is recognised by the decrees of various councils, those of Tarragona, of Lerida, of Barcelona, of Saragossa. It received a strong impulse from Donatus, an African, who landed with seventy monks from that country.

In Africa.

In Africa, monasticism, under St. Augustine, assumed a peculiar form, intermediate between the ordinary sacerdotal institutions and the monastery. The clergy were to live in common under a rule, in some respects rigidly monastic, yet to discharge all the ordinary duties of the priesthood. They were the first regular canons; but the Augustinian Order formed, as it was de-

signed, on this ancient and venerable model, is of much later date, the twelfth century.[h]

In Britain. In Britain, monasticism had arrived before the Saxon invasion. It fled with Christianity to the fastnesses of Wales; the monks of Banchor, long established on the border, encountered the Saxon monks, who accompanied Augustine into the island. Ireland and the Western Isles were already studded with these religious retreats; Iona had its convent, and these institutions, which were hereafter to send forth S. Columban to convert and monasticise the German forests, were already at least in their early and initiatory state.

S. Benedict of Nursia. But the extension and organisation of monasticism in the West owes its principal strength and uniformity to Benedict of Nursia.[i] The life of Benedict, from infancy to death, is the most perfect illustration of the motives which then worked upon the mind of man. In him meet together and combine all those influences which almost divided mankind into recluses or cœnobites, and those who pursued an active life; as well as all the effects, in his case the best effects, produced by this phasis of human thought and feeling. Benedict, it was said, was born at that time, like a sun to dispel the Cimmerian darkness which brooded over Christendom, and to revive the expiring spirit of monasticism. The whole world was desolated by the inroads of the northern conquerors; the thrones of the new western kingdoms were filled by barbarian heretics; the East was distracted with controversy. War had not respected the monastic institutions; and those were fortunate who were shrouded in the mountain glens of the Apennines, or lay hid in some remote and sea-girt island. His age acknowledged Benedict as the perfect type of the highest religion, and Benedict impersonated his age.

In the time of Benedict no man could have made a profound impression or exercised an enduring influence upon the mind of man, without that enthusiasm in himself which would environ him with wonder, or without exciting that

[h] Compare Thomassin, La Discipline de l'Eglise, i. 31.

[i] Baronius sub ann., but chiefly Mabillon, Hist. Ordin. Benedict.

enthusiasm in others which would eagerly accept, propagate, and multiply the miracles which avouched his sanctity.

How perfectly the whole atmosphere was impregnated with this inexhaustible yearning for the supernatural, appears from the ardour with which the monastic passions were indulged at the earliest age. Children were nursed and trained to expect at every instant more than human interferences; their young energies had ever before them examples of asceticism, to which it was the glory, the true felicity of life, to aspire. The thoughtful child had all his mind thus pre-occupied; he was early, it might almost seem intuitively, trained to this course of life; wherever there was gentleness, modesty, the timidity of young passion, repugnance to vice, an imaginative temperament, a consciousness of unfitness to wrestle with the rough realities of life, the way lay invitingly open—the difficult, it is true, and painful, but direct and unerring way, to heaven. It lay through perils, but was made attractive by perpetual wonders; it was awful, but in its awfulness lay its power over the young mind. It learned to trample down that last bond which united the child to common humanity, filial reverence; the fond and mysterious attachment of the child and the mother, the in-born reverence of the son to the father. It is the highest praise of St. Fulgentius that he overcame his mother's tenderness by religious cruelty.[k]

History, to be true, must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and, though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philosophy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal, motive of human life.

Benedict was born at Nursia, in the province of Spoleto, of respectable parents. He was sent to Rome, according to still-prevailing custom, to be instructed in the liberal arts. But his pure spirit shrunk instinctively from the vices of the capital. He gave up

A.D. 480.

[k] The approving bishop said, "Facile potest juvenis tolerare quemcunque imposuerit laborem qui poterit maternum jam despicere dolorem."—Fulgent. Vit. apud Mabillon.

the perilous study of letters, and preferred an holy ignorance.[1] He fled secretly from the society of his dangerous associates, from the house of his parents, who, it seems, had accompanied him, as of old the father of Horace his son, to Rome.[m] His faithful nurse alone discovered his design and accompanied his flight. This incident seems to imply that his flight took place at a very tender age; a circumstance, told at a later period, intimates that it was not before the first impulses of youthful passion. He took refuge in a small village called Effide, about two miles from Subiaco. The rustic inhabitants, pleased with his modesty and sweetness of disposition, allowed him to inhabit a cell near their church. Here took place his first miracle. The faithful nurse, Cyrilla, had borrowed a stone sieve, commonly used in that part of the country to make bread. It fell from her hands, and broke in two. Benedict, moved by her distress, united the two pieces, prayed over them, and the vessel became whole. The wondering rustics are said to have hung the miraculously restored sieve over their church door But the sensitive youth shrunk from fame, as he had from vice: he sought a deeper solitude. In the neighbourhood of Subiaco, by the advice and assistance of a monk, named Romanus, he found a wild and inaccessible cavern, into which he crept, and for three years the softly and delicately educated boy lay hid in this cold and dismal dwelling from the sight of men. His scanty food was supplied by Romanus, who took it by stealth from his own small pittance in his monastery. The cave was at the foot of the hill on which the monastery stood, but there was no path down the precipitous rock. The food, therefore, was let down by a rope, and a small bell tied to the rope gave notice of its coming. Once the devil broke the rope; but he could not baffle the inventive charity of Romanus. To an imagination so prepared, what scene could be more suited to nurture the disposition to wonders and visions than the wild and romantic region about

Youth of Benedict.

[1] "Scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus." Such are the words of Gregory the Great.—Dial. l. 2.

[m] Compare (how strange the comparison!) the life of Horace and the life of S. Benedict.

Subiaco? The cave of Benedict is still shown as a hallowed place, high on the crest of a toppling rock, with the Anio roaring beneath in a deep ravine, clothed with the densest forest, and looking on another wild, precipitous crag. Half way up the zigzag and laborious path stands the convent of Benedict's sister, St. Scolastica.[n] So entirely was Benedict cut off from the world that he ceased to mark not merely the progress of ordinary time, but even the fasts and festivals of the Church. A certain priest had prepared for himself some food of unusual delicacy for the festival of Easter. A mysterious admonition within his heart reproved him for this luxurious indulgence, while the servant of God was pining with hunger. Who he was, this holy and heaven-designated servant, or where he dwelt, the priest knew not, but he was led through the tangled thickets and over the rugged rocks to the cave of Benedict. Benedict was ignorant that it was Easter, and not till he was assured that it was that festal day, would he share in the heaven-sent banquet.

The secret of his hiding-place was thus betrayed, and some of the rude shepherds of the country, seeing the hermit in his coarse attire, which was no more than a sheep-skin thrown round him, mistook him at first for a wild beast: but when they approached him, they were so melted by his gentle eloquence, that their hearts yielded at once, and they were subdued to courtesy of manners and Christian belief. But the young hermit had not escaped the notice or the jealousy of the enemy of mankind. One day (we must not omit puerilities so characteristic, and this is gravely related by a late serious and learned writer) he appeared in the shape of a blackbird, and flapped him over the eyes with his wings, so as almost to blind him. The evil one took a more dangerous form, the unforgotten image of a beautiful woman whom young

[n] According to the annalist of the order, Subiaco, properly Sub-lacu, was a town at the foot of a lake made by the waters of the Anio, which had been dammed up by the Emperor Claudius. On the 20th February, 1325, the lake burst its dam, swept away the road and bridge to San Lorenzo, and left only its dry bed, through which the torrent of the Anio still pours.—Annal. Ordin. Benedict. i. c. viii. The old monastery must have been on a peak higher than Benedict's cave.

Benedict had known at Rome (he could not, then, have left it so very young). This was a perilous probation, and it was only by rushing forth and rolling his naked body upon the brambles and sharp points of the rocks that Benedict obtained the hard-wrung victory. Never after this, as he said to his familiar friends, was he exposed to these fleshly trials. Yet his warfare was not over. He had triumphed over sensual lust, he was to be tempted by religious ambition. A convent of monks in the neighbourhood, excited by the fame of his sanctity, determined to choose Benedict for their head. He fairly warned them of the rigorous and uncompromising discipline which he should think it his duty to enforce. Either fondly believing their own sincerity, or presuming on the latent gentleness of Benedict, they could not be dissuaded from the design. But in a short time the firm severity of the young abbot roused their fierce resentment; hatred succeeded to reverence and love.

They attempted to poison him; but the cup with the guilty potion burst asunder in the hands of Benedict, who calmly reproved them for their crime, prayed for the divine forgiveness, reminded them of his own warnings before he undertook their government, and withdrew into his happier solitude.

Fame of Benedict.

It was no longer a solitude. The sanctity of Benedict, and the fame of his miracles, drew together daily fresh aspirants to the holiness or the quietness of his recluse life. In a short time arose in the poetic district, on the peaks and rent clefts, under the oaks and chestnuts round Subiaco, twelve monasteries, each containing twelve votaries (Benedict considered that less or more than this number led to negligence or to discord). The names of many of these cloisters designate their romantic sites; the Monastery of the Cavern, St. Angelo and St. Clement by the Lake, St. John by the Stream, St. Victor at the foot of the Mountain; Eternal Life, or the Holy Valley; and one now called Santa Scolastica, rising amid embowering woods on a far-seen ridge of the Apennines. The fame of these institutions soon spread to Rome. Some of the nobles joined the young fraternities, others sent their

sons for the benefit of a severe and religious education; and already considerable endowments in farms and other possessions were bestowed by the piety and gratitude of parents or admirers. Maurus (afterwards St. Maur) was one of these young nobles, who became before long the friend, assistant, and successor of Benedict. To Maurus was soon attributed a share in the miraculous powers, as in the holiness of Benedict. Though wells of waters had broken out at the prayer of Benedict on the thirsty summits of the rocks, where the hermitages hung aloft, they were not always at hand or always full. A noble youth of fifteen, Placidus, in drawing water from the lake, fell in, and was carried by the waves far from the shore. Benedict cried to Maurus to assist. Maurus rushed in, and, walking on the water, drew out the fainting youth by the hair. A contest of humility began: Maurus attributed the wonder to the holiness of his master, Benedict to the devotion of Maurus. It was decided by the youth, who declared that he had seen the sheepskin cloak of Benedict hovering over him. It would not be difficult to admit all the facts of this miracle, which might be easily accounted for by the excitement of all parties.

The Priest Florentius.

It is strange to see the blackest crimes constantly, as it were, in collision with this high-wrought holiness. Florentius, a neighbouring priest, was envious of the holy Benedict. He attempted to poison him in some bread which he sent as a present.° Benedict had a prescient consciousness of the treason; and a raven at his command flew away with the infected food. Florentius, baffled in his design upon the life of the master, plotted against the souls of the disciples. He turned seven naked girls into the garden of one of the monasteries. Benedict determined to withdraw from the dangerous neighbourhood. He had set forth on his journey when Maurus hastily overtook him, and, not without some signs of joy, communicated the tidings of the death of Florentius. The wicked priest had been buried in the ruins of his chamber,

° Compare the attempt of the ambitious archdeacon to poison the aged Bishop of Canosa. The bishop drank the cup, having made the sign of the cross, and the *archdeacon fell dead*, as if the poison had found its way to his stomach.—Greg. Dial. iii. 5.

which had fallen in, while the rest of the house remained standing. Benedict wept over the fate of his enemy, and imposed penance on his disciple for his unseemly and unchristian rejoicing in the calamity even of the wicked.

Benedict pursued his way (as the more poetic legend added, under the guidance of two visible angels) to Monte Casino, about fifty miles from Subiaco. On Monte Casino still arose a temple of Apollo amid its sacred grove; and in the midst, as it were, of Christianity, the pagan peasants brought their offerings to their ancient god. But there was no human resistance when the zealous recluse destroyed the profane and stately edifice, broke the idol, overturned the altar, and cut down the grove. Unreluctant the people received the religion of Christ from the eloquent lips of Benedict. The enemy of mankind attempted some obstruction to the building of the church devoted to Saint Martin. The obstinate stones would not move but at the prayers of Benedict. They fell and crushed the builders, who were healed by his intercession. The last stronghold of paganism was replaced by a Benedictine monastery; and here arose that great model republic, which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western Monasticism. If we might imagine the pagan deity to have any real and conscious being, and to represent the Sun, he might behold the monastic form of Christianity, which rose on the ruins of his ancient worship, almost as universally spread throughout the world, as of old the adoration of his visible majesty.

Rule of S. Benedict.

Three virtues constituted the sum of the Benedictine discipline. Silence with solitude and seclusion, humility, obedience, which, in the strong language of its laws, extended to impossibilities. All is thus concentrated on self. It was the man isolated from his kind who was to rise to a lonely perfection. All the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded: the mere mechanic observance of the rules of the brotherhood, or even the corporate spirit, are hardly worthy of notice, though they are the only substitutes for the rejected and proscribed pursuits of active life.

The three occupations of life were the worship of God,

reading, and manual labour. The adventitious advantages, and great they were, of these industrious agricultural settlements, were not contemplated by the founder; the object of the monks was not to make the wilderness blossom with fertility, to extend the arts and husbandry of civilised life into barbarous regions, it was solely to employ in engrossing occupation that portion of time which could not be devoted to worship and to study.[q]

For the divine service the monks awoke at midnight; they retired again, and rose after a brief repose for matins. After matins they did not return to their beds, but spent the time in reading, meditation, or the singing of psalms. From prime to noon, and all after the brief meal, and another period of reading or meditation, was devoted to labour. At particular periods, as at harvest, the labouring brothers did not return home to their religious service; they knelt and performed it in the fields. The mass was not celebrated on ordinary days, only on Sundays and holidays.

Abstinence from flesh, at least that of four-footed animals, was perpetual and universal; from that of fowls was prescribed with less rigour. The usual food was vegetable broth, bread, and a small measure of wine. From Easter to Pentecost there was no fast. From Pentecost to the ides of September, fasts on two days in the week; the rest of the year to Easter perpetual fast, with one evening meal of eggs or fish. Lent was still more rigorously enforced by abstinence not from food only, but from sleep and from speech. The punishment of delinquents was sequestration from the oratory, the table, and the common meetings; the contumacious and incorrigible were expelled from the community. The monastery contained within its walls the mill, the bakehouse, and everything necessary for life. It was strictly forbidden to partake of food without the walls; all wandering to any distance was prohibited; and if the monk was obliged to be absent during the whole day, he was enjoined to fast rather than partake of food abroad.

So were self-doomed to live the monks of St. Benedict; so all monks, whose number is incalculable, for the long

[q] "Cuivis piæ mentis agitationi," says Mabillon, page 52.

centuries in which Latin Christianity ruled the western world. The two sexes were not merely to be strangers, but natural, irreconcileable enemies. This strong repulsion was carried not only into their judgments upon themselves, but into their judgments of those who were yet in the world without. All monks inevitably embraced, with the most extreme severity, the dominant notion of the absolute sinfulness of all sexual intercourse; at least, its utter incompatibility with religious service. A noble lady is possessed with a legion of devils, for compliance with her husband, before a procession in honour of the bones of St. Sebastian. The less questionable natural affections were proscribed with equal severity. Attachment to the order was to be the one absorbing affection. A boy monk, who loved his parents too fondly, and stole forth to visit them, was not merely suddenly struck with death, but the holy earth refused to retain his body, and cast it forth with indignation. It was only by the influence of Benedict, who commanded the Holy Eucharist to be placed upon the body, that it was permitted to repose in the grave.[r]

But the later days of Benedict, at Monte Casino, though adorned with perpetual miracle, did not seclude him or his peaceful votaries from the disastrous times which overwhelmed Italy during the fall of the Gothic monarchy and the re-conquest by the Eastern Emperor. War respected not these holy sanctuaries; and in prophetic vision Benedict saw his establishment laid waste, and all its lofty buildings in ruins before the ravages of the spoiler. He was consoled, however, it is added, by visions of the extension of his rule throughout Europe, and the rise of flourishing Benedictine monasteries in every part of the West. Nor were the virtues of Benedict without influence in assuaging the horrors of the war. Totila himself, the last and not least noble Gothic sovereign, came to

Ravages in Italy.

[r] Gregor. Dial. i. 10. There is another strange story of the power of Benedict: he had excommunicated certain nuns for the unbridled use of their tongues. They were buried, however, in the church. But when the sacrament was next administered, at the voice of the deacon, commanding all who did not communicate to depart, the bodies rose from their graves and walked out of the church. This was seen by their nurse, who communicated the fact to Benedict. The pitying saint commanded an oblation to be made for them, and ever after they rested quietly in their graves.—Greg. Dial. ii. 23.

consult the prophetic saint of Monte Casino as an oracle. He attempted to practise a deception upon him, by dressing one of his chieftains in the royal attire. Benedict at once detected the fraud, and Riggo, the chieftain, returned to his master, deeply impressed with awe at the supernatural knowledge of the saint. Totila himself, it is said, fell prostrate at the feet of Benedict, who raised him up, solemnly rebuked his cruelties, foretold his conquest of Rome, his passage of the sea, his reign of nine years, his death during the tenth. The greater humanity with which Totila from this time conducted the war, his severity against his soldiers for the violation of female chastity, the virtues, in short, of this gallant warrior, are attributed to this interview with Benedict. Considering the uncertainty of the date assigned to this event, it is impossible to estimate how far the fierce warrior was already under the control of those Christian feelings which led him to seek the solitude of the saint, or was really awe-struck into more thoughtful religiousness by these prophetic admonitions.[s] Totila.

Benedict did not live to witness the ruin of Monte Casino; his sister, St. Scolastica, preceded him in her death but a few days. There is something striking in the attachment of the brother and sister, the human affection struggling with the hard spirit of monasticism. St. Scolastica was a female Benedict. Equally devout, equally powerful in attracting and ruling the minds of recluses of her own sex, the remote foundress of convents, almost as numerous as those of her brother's rule. With the most perfect harmony of disposition, one in holiness, one in devotion, they were of different sexes, and met but once a year. The feminine weakness of the dying Scolastica for once extorted an unwilling breach of his rule from her severer brother.[t] He had come to visit her, probably for the last time; she entreated him to rest for the night in her convent; but Benedict had never, so S.Scolastica.

[s] There are several other anecdotes of Totila in the Dialogues of Gregory. He went to consult the Bishop of Canosa, as a prophet, and tried to deceive him. See likewise the odd story of Cassius, Bishop of Narni, whom Totila, from his red nose, unjustly suspected of drunkenness. In several other instances Totila was compelled to reverence the sanctity of bishops, whom he had begun to persecute.—c. x. and xi.

[t] Greg. Dial. 2, xxxiii.

spake his own laws, passed a night out of his own monastery. But Heaven was more indulgent than the monk. Scolastica reclined her head in profound prayer. Suddenly the serene sky was overcast, lightnings and thunders flashed and roared around, the rain fell in torrents. "The Lord have mercy upon you, my sister!" said Benedict; "what have you done?" "You," she replied, "have rejected my prayers; but the Lord hath not. Go now, if you can." They passed the night in devout spiritual exercises. Three days after Benedict saw the soul of his sister soaring to heaven in the shape of a dove. Only a short time elapsed, and Benedict was seized with a mortal sickness. Six days before his death he ordered his grave to be opened, and at the end breathed his last in prayer. His death was not without its prophetic announcements. It was revealed to a monk in his cell at Monte Casino, and to his chosen disciple, St. Maurus, who had already left Italy to establish the rule of his master in the monasteries of Gaul. In a convent near Auxerre, Maurus was rapt in spirit, and beheld a way strewn with garments and lighted with lamps, which led direct from the cell of Benedict to heaven. "May God enable us to follow our master along this heavenward way." Benedict was buried in the oratory of John the Baptist, which stood upon the site of the sanctuary of Apollo.

The vision of St. Benedict of the universal diffusion of his order was accomplished with a rapidity wonderful even in those times. In Italy, from Calabria to the Alps, Benedictine monasteries began to rise on the brows of beetling mountains, sometimes in quiet valleys. Their buildings gradually grew in spaciousness and splendour;[u] nor did they absolutely abandon the cities, as dangerous to themselves or beyond the sphere of their exemplary rigour. Few, if any, of the great towns are without their Benedictine convent. Every monastery sent forth its colonies. The monks seem to multiply with greater fecundity than the population of the most flourishing cities, and were

[u] It did not often happen that a monastery, ashamed of its magnificence, like one built by the desire, but not according to the modest notions, of S. Waltruda, fell of its own accord, and gave place to a humbler edifice.—Mabillon, Ann. i. p. 405.

obliged to throw off their redundant brethren to some new settlement. They swarmed, according to their language, like bees.[v] Wherever was the abode of men was the abode of these recluses, who had put off the ordinary habits, attire, occupations of men; wherever they settled in the troubled wilderness men gathered around them, as if to partake of their sanctity and security.[x] Maurus, the faithful friend and associate of Benedict, had crossed the Alps even before his death. Bishop Innocent, of Le Mans, who had invited him to Gaul, had died before his arrival; but he was hospitably received in Orleans. The first Benedictine monastery in France rose at Glanfeuille, on the Loire, not far from Angers; it was but the first of many rich and noble foundations—foundations which, as they grew in wealth and splendour, and, in consequence, in luxury and ease, were either themselves brought back by some stern reformer, who wrought them up to their old austere discipline, or rivalled and supplanted by new monasteries, which equalled or surpassed the rigour of Benedict himself.[y] The name of St. Maur is dear to letters. Should his disciples have in some degree departed from the iron rule of their founder, the world, even the enlightened Christian world, will pardon them if their profound and useful studies have withdrawn them from mechanical and automatic acts of devotion. In Spain the monasteries mostly fell in the general wreck of Christianity on the Mahommedan conquest; few scanty and doubtful records survived, to be gleaned by the industry of their successors, as Christianity slowly won back the land.[z]

[v] "Tanquam apes ex cœnobiali alveario de more egressi, nova monasteria, sive dicas cellas, construere amabant."—Note of Angelo della Noce, Abbot of Monte Casino, on the Chron. Casinen.

[x] The Benedictine rule was universally received even in the older monasteries of Gaul, Britain, Spain, and throughout the West; not as that of a rival order (all rivalry was of later date), but as a more full and perfect rule of the monastic life; as simply completing the less consummate work of Cassian, Martin of Tours, or Columban. It gave, therefore, not only a new impulse to monasticism, as founding new monasteries, but as quickening the older ones into new life and energy.

[y] Noirmoutier, founded by S. Meudon, accepted the rule of S. Benedict, and became the head of the Benedictine order in France; other great monasteries were S. Benignus at Dijon; St. Denys; the Chaise Dieu, near Puy de Velay; Fleury, near the Loire. In England, Canterbury, Westminster, Glastonbury, St. Albans. In the north, Wearmouth, Yarrow, Lindisfarn.—Hefyot.

[z] Flores, España Sagrada, passim. This valuable work gives the religious history of Spain, according to its pro-

With St. Augustine the rule of St. Benedict passed to England; but there it might seem as if the realm, instead of banishing them, or permitting their self-banishment, to the wild heath or the mountain crest, had chosen for them, or allowed them to choose, the fairest spots in the land for their settlements. In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, arose a Benedictine Abbey. The labours of the monks in planting, in cultivation, in laying out the sunny garden, or hanging the hill with trees, may have added much to the picturesque grace of these scenes; but, in general, if a district in England be surveyed, the most convenient, most fertile, most peaceful spot, will be found to have been the site of a Benedictine abbey.

Their numbers at any one time it may be difficult to estimate.[a] Abbeys rose and fell, like other human institutions; the more favoured, however, handed down the sacred tradition of their foundation, of their endowments, of their saints, of their miracles, of their good deeds to civilisation, till the final wreck of monastic institutions during the last century; and even from that wreck a few have survived, or lifted up again their venerable heads.[b]

vinces, so that the annals of each church or abbey must be followed out.

[a] Mabillon, Ann. Ordin. Benedict. passim. The number of great monasteries founded in Italy, Rhenane Germany, and France, between 520 and 700, is astonishing. There are some after the conversion of Recared, Toledo, Merida, &c., in Spain.

[b] Sarpi (p. 78, delle Mater Benefic.) quotes the Abbot Trithemius as asserting that in his day there were 15,000 Benedictine convents.

CHAPTER VII.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

THE sixth century of Christianity was drawing towards its close. Anarchy threatened the whole West of Europe; it had already almost enveloped Italy in ruin and desolation. Italy had been a Gothic kingdom, it was now a province of the Eastern Empire. Rome had been a provincial city of Theodoric's kingdom, it was now a provincial, at least only the second, city in the monarchy of Justinian. But the Byzantine government, though it had overthrown the Gothic kingdom, had exhausted itself in the strife. The eunuch Narses had drained by his avarice that wealth which had begun to recover under the vigour of his peaceful administration. But Narses, according to the popular belief, had revenged himself upon the groaning province, which had appealed to Constantinople against his oppressive rule, and upon the jealous Emperor who had feared his greatness. He had summoned the Lombards to cross the Alps. The death of Narses had left his successor, the Exarch of Ravenna, only the dignity of a sovereignty which he was too weak to exercise for any useful purpose of government. Already the Lombards occupied great part of the north of Italy, and were extending their desolating inroads towards the south. The terrors of the defenceless province cowered before, no doubt exaggerated, the barbarity of these new invaders. The Catholics and the Romans had leagued with the East to throw off the Gothic yoke; they were not even to rest under the more oppressive rule of their new masters; they were to be the prey, the victims, the slaves of a new race of barbarians. The Goths had been to a great degree civilised and Romanised before their conquest of Italy; their enlightened rulers had endeavoured to subdue them to the arts of peace, at

Close of sixth century.

Lombard invasion.

least to a less destructive system of warfare. The Lombards were still obstinate barbarians; the Christianity which they had partially embraced was Arianism; and it had in no degree, if justly described, mitigated the ferocity of their manners. They had no awe of religious men, no reverence for religious places; they burned churches, laid waste monasteries, slew ecclesiastics, and violated consecrated virgins with no more dread or remorse than ordinary buildings or profane enemies.[c] So profound was the terror of the Lombard invasion, that the despairing Italians, even the highest ecclesiastics, beheld it as an undoubted sign of the coming day of judgment. The great writer of the times describes the depopulated cities, the ruined castles, the churches burned, the monasteries of males and females destroyed, the farms wasted and left without cultivation, the whole land a solitude, and wild beasts wandering over fields once occupied by multitudes of human beings. He draws the inevitable conclusion; "what is happening in other parts of the world we know not, but in this the end of all things not merely announces itself as approaching, but shows itself as actually begun."[d] This terror of the Lombards seemed to survive and to settle down into an unmitigated detestation. Throughout the legends of the piety and the miracles wrought by bishops and monks in every part of Italy, the most cruel and remorseless persecutor is always a Lombard.[e] And this hatred was not in the least softened when the popes, rising to greater power, became to a certain extent the defenders of Italy: it led them joyfully to hail the appearance of the more warlike and orthodox Franks, whom first the Emperor Maurice, and afterwards the popes, summoned finally to crush the sinking kingdom of the Lombards. The internecine and inextinguishable hatred of the Church, and probably of the Roman provincials, to the Lombards, had many powerful workings on the fortunes of Italy and of the popedom.

[c] On the ravages in Italy by these conflicts, Greg. Epist. v. 21, xiii. 38.

[d] "Finem suum mundus jam non nunciat, sed ostendit."—Greg. Mag. Dial. iii. sub fine: compare ii. 29, vii. ii. 192. Gregory was fully persuaded of the approaching Day of Judgment. The world gave manifest signs of its old age. —Hom. v. on Matt. c. 10.

[e] See the Dialogues of Gregory, passim, and frequent notices in the Epistles.

The Byzantine conquest had not only crushed the independence of reviving Italy, prevented the quiet infusion of Gothic blood and of Gothic institutions into the frame of society; it had almost succeeded in trampling down the ecclesiastical dignity of Rome. There are few popes whose reigns have been so inglorious as those of the immediate successors of that unhappy Vigilius, who closed his disastrous and dishonourable life at a distance from his see, Pelagius I., Benedict, Pelagius II. They rose at the command, must obsequiously obey the mandates, not of the Emperor, but of the Emperor's representative, the Exarch of Ravenna. They must endure, even if under solemn but unregarded protests, the pretensions of the bishop of the Emperor's capital, to equality, perhaps to superiority. Western bishops seem to take advantage of their weakness, and supported, as they expect to be, by Imperial Constantinople, defy their patriarch. A.D. 553 to 560.

Times of emergency call forth great men—men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice, and holiness of their cause in religious affairs, of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such was Gregory I., to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

Now was the crisis in which the Papacy, the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty—the power which was most imperatively required to preserve that which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilisation, must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organisation of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have

degenerated into a half secular feudal caste, with hereditary benefices more and more entirely subservient to the civil power, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, and gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative, hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and, to a certain extent, uniform system. There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe had been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained it, but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organising or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still to a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which have made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars, on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilisation known to man. It is inconceivable that Teutonic Europe, or Europe so deeply interpenetrated with Teutonism, could have been condensed or compelled into a vast Asiatic despotism, or succession of despotisms. Immense and interminable as have been the evils and miseries of the conflict between the southern and northern, the Teutonic and Roman, the hierarchical and civil elements of our social system, out of these conflicts has at length arisen the balance and harmony of the great states which constitute European Christendom, and are now peopling other continents with kindred and derivative institutions. It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world—it had by

BRANCH OF THE

this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it. Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop. It is a Christian dominion, of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City, not the old Rome associating Christian influence to her ancient title of sovereignty.

Gregory united in himself every qualification and endowment which could command the veneration and attachment of Rome and of his age.[f] In his descent he blended civil and ecclesiastical nobility. He was of a senatorial family: his father bore the imperial name of Gordian, his mother that of Sylvia. A pope (Felix II.) was his ancestor in the fourth degree—the pope who had built the church of SS. Cosmos and Damianus, close to the temple of Romulus. Two sainted virgins, Thirsilla and Sylvia, were his aunts. To his noble descent was added considerable wealth; and all that wealth, directly he became master of it by the death of his father, was at once devoted to religious uses. He founded and endowed, perhaps from Sicilian estates, six monasteries in that island; a seventh, in Rome, he chose for his own retreat; and having lavished on the poor all his costly robes, his silk, his gold, his jewels, his furniture, he violently wrenched himself from the secular life (in which he had already attained to the dignity of prætor of the city[g]), and not even assuming the abbacy of his convent, but beginning with the lowest monastic duties, he devoted himself altogether to God.[h] His whole time was passed in prayer, reading, writing, and dictation.[i] The fame of his unprecedented abstinence and boundless charity spread abroad,

Birth and descent of Gregory.

[f] Homil. 38, in Evang. Dialog. Epist. iv. 16; Joh. Diac. in Vit. The date of his birth is uncertain; it was about the year 540.—Lau., Gregor. I. der Grosse, page 10.

[g] He describes his secular state, Præfat. ad Job. "Diu longeque conversionis gratiam distuli, et postquam cœlesti sum desiderio affectus, seculari habitu contegi melius putavi. . . . Cumque adhuc me cogeret animus præsenti mundo quasi specie tenus deservire, cœperunt multa contra me ex ejusdem mundi curâ succrescere, ut in eo jam non specie, sed quod est gravius, mente retinerer."

[h] The date of Gregory's monkhood is again uncertain — probably not earlier than 573, nor later than 577.—Lau, p. 21.

[i] Greg. Tur. x. 1. According to Jaffé, the Register of Gregory's Letters not only marks the year (the indiction), but the month of their date.

and, as usual, took the form of miracle. He had so destroyed his health by fasting, vigil, and study, that his brethren were obliged to feed him by compulsion. His life hung on a thread, and he feared that he should not have strength to observe the indispensable fast even on Good Friday. By the prayers of the holy Eleutherius his stomach was endowed with supernatural strength, and never after (he had manifestly, however, undermined his constitution) refused the sacred duty of abstinence.[k] His charity was tried by an angel in the garb of a shipwrecked sailor, whose successive visits exhausted all he had, except a silver vessel set apart for the use of his mother. This too he gave, and the satisfied angel at length revealed himself.[m] The monastery of St. Andrew was a perpetual scene of preternatural wonder. Fugitive monks were seized upon by devils, who confessed their power to Gregory; others were favoured with visits of angels summoning them to peace; and one brother, whose whole life, excepting the intervals of food and sleep, was spent in psalmody, was not merely crowned by invisible hands with white flowers, but fourteen years after, a fragrance, as of the concentrated sweetness of all flowers, breathed from his tomb. Such was the poetry of those days.

Gregory Abbot.

Gregory became abbot;[n] and that severe discipline which he had imposed upon himself, he enforced with relentlessness, which hardened into cruelty, upon others. Many were tempted to embrace the monastic life who had not resolution to adhere to it, who found no consolation in its peace, and grew weary of its monotonous devotion. Fugitive monks were constantly revolting back to the world which they had forsaken: on these Gregory had no mercy. On the more faithful he exercised a tyranny of discipline which crushed out of the heart not only every lingering attachment to the world, but every sense and pulsation of humanity. The most singular history of this discipline, combining ingratitude and cruelty

[k] Dial. iii. 13; Joh. Diac. i. p. 9.

[m] See Præf. ad Dial., a pleasing passage, in which, oppressed by the cares and troubles of the papacy, he looks back on the quiet of his monastery.

[n] Lau insists, I think on unsatisfactory grounds, that he was abbot only after his return from Constantinople.—p. 37.

under the guise of duty, with a strange confidence in his own powers of appeasing the divine wrath, and in the influence of the eucharistic sacrifice, is the death of Justus, related by Gregory himself. Before he became a monk, Justus had practised physic. During the long illness of Gregory, Justus, now a monk, had attended him day and night with affectionate care and skill. On his own death-bed Justus betrayed to his brother that he possessed three pieces of gold. This was in direct violation of that law as to community of property established in the monastery. After long search the guilty money was found concealed in some medicine. Gregory determined to strike the offender with a due sense of his crime, and to awe the brotherhood by the terror of his example. He prohibited every one from approaching the bed of the dying man, the new Simon Magus. No word of consolation or of hope was to soothe his departure. His brother alone might approach to tell him that he died detested by all the community. Nor did the inhuman disciplinarian rest here. The body was cast out upon the dunghill, with the three pieces of gold, the whole convent shouting aloud, "Thy money perish with thee!" After thirty days of fiery burnings, the inevitable fate of an unabsolved outlaw, the heart of Gregory began to relent. He permitted the mass to be offered for the afflicted soul. The sacrifice was offered for thirty days more, at the end of which the spirit of Justus appeared to his brother, and assured him of his release from penal torture.°

But a mind of such force and ability as Gregory's could not be permitted to slumber in the holy quiet of a monastery. He himself began to comprehend that there were higher religious avocations and nobler services to God. He was still a monk of St. Andrew when that incident took place which, by the divine blessing, led to the conversion of our Saxon ancestors. The tale, though often repeated, is too pleasing not to find a place here. In the market-place of Rome Gregory saw some beautiful and

° "Mira sunt quæ narras et non mediocriter læta." Such, at the close of this story, is the quaint language of Gregory's obsequious hearer. — Greg. Mag. Dial. iv. 55.

fair-haired boys exposed for sale. He inquired from whence they came. "From Britain." "Are they Christians?" "They are still pagans." "Alas! that the Prince of Darkness should possess forms of such loveliness! That such beauty of countenance should want that better beauty of the soul!" He asked of what nation they were. "Angles" was the reply. "Truly," he said, "they are angels! From what province?" "That of Deira." "Truly they must be rescued *de irâ* (from the wrath of God). What is the name of their king?" "Ælla." "Yea," said Gregory, "Alleluia must be sung in the dominions of that king." To be the first missionary to this beautiful people, and win this remote and barbarous island, like a Christian Cæsar, to the realm of Christ, became the holy ambition of Gregory. His long-suppressed humanity burst forth in this new channel. He extorted the unwilling consent of the Pope: he had actually set forth, and travelled three days' journey, when he was overtaken by messengers sent to recal him. All Rome had risen in pious mutiny, and compelled the Pope to revoke his permission.

Gregory aspires to convert Britain.

But Gregory was not to retire again to his monastery. He was forced to embark in public affairs. He was ordained deacon (he was one of the seven deacons of the Church of Rome, the Regionarii), and sent by Pope Benedict on an important embassy to Constantinople. But his occupations were not confined to his negotiations with the court. He was the Pope's apocrisiarius or secretary. These negotiations were but partially successful. He reconciled, indeed, the two successive emperors, Tiberius and Maurice, with the person of the Pope, Pelagius; but the aid against the Lombards was sent reluctantly, tardily, inefficiently. The schism between the East and West was still unallayed. He entered into a characteristic controversy with Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, on the nature of the body after the resurrection.[p] The meta-

Gregory in Constantinople.

[p] The controversy must have been somewhat perplexing, as Gregory was ignorant of Greek, and good translators were not to be found. "Quia hodie in Constantinopolitanâ civitate, qui de Latino in Græcum dictata *bene* transferant non sunt. Dum enim verba custodiunt, et sensus minimè attendunt, nec verba intelligi faciunt, et sensus frangunt."—Greg. Mag. Epist. vi. 27.

physical Greek imagined an impalpable body, finer and more subtile than the air. The Western theologian, unembarrassed by the materialism from which the Greek endeavoured to escape, strenuously asserted the unrefined identity of the renovated body with that of the living man.

In Constantinople[q] Gregory commenced, if he did not complete, his great work, the 'Magna Moralia, or Exposition of the Book of Job,' at which the West stood astonished, and which may even now excite our wonder at the vast superstructure raised on such narrow foundations. The book of Job, according to Gregory, comprehended in itself all natural, all Christian theology, and all morals. It was at once a true and wonderful history, an allegory containing, in its secret sense, the whole theory of the Christian Church and Christian sacraments, and a moral philosophy applicable to all mankind. As an interpreter of the history, Gregory was entirely ignorant of all the Oriental languages, even of Greek.[r] He read the book partly according to the older, partly according to the later Latin version. Of ancient or of Oriental manners he knew nothing. Of the book of Job as a poem (the most sublime of all antiquity) he had no conception: to him it is all pure, unimaginative, unembellished history. As an allegory, it is surprising with what copious ingenuity Gregory discovers latent adumbrations of all the great Christian doctrines, and still more the unrelenting condemnation of heresies and of heretics. The moral interpretation may be read at the present time, if with no great admiration at the depth of the philosophy, with respect for its loftiness and purity. It is ascetic, but generally, except when heretics are concerned, devout, humane, and generous.[s]

Magna Moralia.

[q] Gregory resided three years in Constantinople: 584–587.

[r] "Nam nos nec Græcè novimus, nec aliquod opus Græcè aliquando conscripsimus."—Greg. Mag. Epist. ix. 69.

[s] It may be safely said that, according to Gregory's licence of interpretation, there is nothing which might not be found in any book ever written; there is no single word which may not be pregnant with unutterable mysteries, no syllable which may not mean everything, no number which may not have relation to the same number, wherever it may occur, to every multiple or divisible part of such number. "The seven sons of Job mean the twelve apostles, and therefore the clergy, because seven is the perfect number, and multiplied within itself, four by three or three by four, produces twelve. The three daughters mean the faithful laity, because they are

So congenial, however, was this great work to the Christian mind, that many bishops began to read it publicly in the churches; and it was perhaps prevented from coming into general use only by the modest remonstrance of Gregory himself; and thus Gregory, if his theology and morals had been sanctioned by the authority of the Church, would have become the founder of a new religion. It never appears to have occurred to the piety of that or indeed of other ages, that this discovery of latent meanings in the books of inspiration, and the authoritative enforcement of those interpretations, as within the scope of the Holy Spirit, is no less than to make a new revelation to mankind. It might happen that the doctrines thus discovered were only those already recognised as Christianity, and the utmost error then would be the illustration of such doctrines by forced and inapplicable texts. But it cannot be denied that by this system of exposition the sacred writings were continually made to speak the sense of the interpreter; and if once we depart from the plain and obvious meaning of the Legislator, all beyond is the enactment of a new, a supplementary, an unwarranted law. Compare the Great Morals of Gregory, not with the book of Job, but with the New Testament; and can we deny that there would have been a new authoritative proclamation of the Divine will?

Gregory in Rome.

So far Gregory had kept his lofty way in every situation, not only fulfilling, but surpassing, the highest demands of his age. In his personal character austerely blameless; as an abbot (he resumed on his return to Rome the abbacy in his monastery of St. Andrew), mercilessly severe, the model of a strict disciplinarian; as an ambassador, displaying consummate ability; as a controversialist, defeating in the opinion of the West the subtleties of the rival Bishop of Constantinople; as a theologian, already taking that place which was assigned him

to worship the Trinity." "In septem ergo filiis ordo predicantium, in tribus vero filiabus multitudo auditorum signatur." The three daughters may likewise mean the three classes of the faithful, the pastores, continentes, and conjugati. The curious reader may see the mystery which is found in the sheep and the camels, the oxen and the asses.—Lib. i. c. vi.; and Lib. ii. c. xiv., where the friends of Job are shown, from the latent meaning of their names, to signify the heretics.

by the homage of posterity, that of the fourth great father of the Latin Church.[t] Soon after his return to Rome the city became a scene of misery and desolation, so that all eyes could not but be turned on a man so highly favoured of God. The Lombard invasions continued to waste Italy; the feeble Exarch acknowledged that he had no power to protect Rome; the supplications for effectual aid from Constantinople had been unavailing. More dire and pressing calamities darkened around. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and swept away the granaries of corn. A dreadful pestilence ensued, of which the Pope Pelagius was among the first victims.[u] With one voice the clergy, the senate, and the people summoned Gregory to the pontifical throne.[x] His modest remonstrances were in vain. His letter entreating the Emperor Maurice to relieve him from the perilous burthen, by refusing the imperial consent to his elevation, was intercepted by the loving vigilance of his admirers. Among these was the prefect of the city, who substituted for Gregory's letter the general petition for his advancement. But, until the answer of the Emperor could arrive, Gregory assumed the religious direction of the people. He addressed them with deep solemnity on the plague, and persuaded them to acts of humiliation.[y] On an appointed day the whole city joined in the religious ceremony. Seven litanies, or processions with prayers and hymns, and the greatest pomp, traversed the streets. That of the clergy set out from the Church of St. John the Baptist; that of the men from St. Marcellus; the monks from that of the martyrs John and Paul; the holy virgins from SS. Cosmos and Damianus; the married women from St. Stephen; the widows from St. Vitalis; that of the poor and the children from St. Cæcilia. But the plague was not stayed; eighty victims fell dead during the procession;[z] but Gregory still urged the people to persist in their pious supplications.

A.D. 585.

State of the City.

Gregory Pope.

[t] Pelag. Epist. ad Greg. apud J. Diaconum in Vit.

[u] The pestilence was attributed to a vast number of serpents and a great dragon, like a beam of timber, carried down the Tiber to the sea, and cast back upon the shore, where they putrified, and caused the plague.—Greg. Turon.

[x] 589-590, Jaffé.

[y] The speech in Greg. Tur. x. i.; Paul. Diac. Ep. ii.; Joh. Diac. i. 41.

[z] The picturesque legend, from which

To the end Gregory endeavoured to elude the compulsory honour of the Papacy. It was said that, knowing the gates to be jealously watched, he persuaded some merchants to convey him to a solitary forest in disguise; but a light, like a pillar of fire, hovered over his head, and betrayed his flight. He was seized, hurried to the Church of St. Peter, and forcibly consecrated as Supreme Pontiff.[a]

Monkhood of Gregory.

Monasticism ascended the Papal throne in the person of Gregory. In austerity, in devotion, in imaginative superstition, Gregory was a monk to the end of his days.[b] From this turmoil of affairs, civil and spiritual; the religious ambition of maintaining and extending the authority of his see; the affairs of pure Christian humanity in which he was involved, as almost the only guardian of the Roman population against the barbarian invasions; oppressed with business, with cares, with responsibilities, he perpetually reverts to the peace of his monastery, where he could estrange himself entirely from sublunary things, yield himself up to the exclusive contemplation of heaven, and look forward to death as the entrance into life.[c]

the monument of Hadrian took the name of the Castle of St. Angelo, cannot be reconciled with the Letters of Gregory. It ran, that as the last procession reached this building, an angel was seen sheathing his sword, as though the work of divine vengeance was over. The statue of the angel in this attitude commemorated the wonder.

[a] The biographer of Gregory (John the Deacon) thinks it necessary to adduce evidence of the sincerity of this reluctance, which had been questioned by "certain perfidious Lombards." He cites a curious letter to Theoctista, the emperor's sister, among the strange expressions in which is this: "Ecce serenissimus Dominus Imperator fieri Simiam Leonem jussit et quidem pro jussione illius vocari Leo potest; fieri autem Leo non potest." In one letter he says: "Non Romanorum sed Longobardorum episcopus factus sum." Compare letter to John of Constantinople, i. 24, and the following epistles; also Epist. vii. 4, and Regula Past. in init.

[b] "Cum quibus (amicis) Gregorius diu nocteque versatus nihil monasticæ perfectionis in palatio, nihil pontificalis institutionis in ecclesiâ dereliquit. Videbantur passim cum eruditissimis clericis adhærere Pontifici religiosissimi monachi, et in diversissimis professionibus habebatur vita communis; ita ut talis esset tunc sub Gregorio penes urbem Romam ecclesia, qualem *hanc fuisse sub apostolis Lucas* et sub *Marco* Evangelistâ penes Alexandriam Philo commemorat." Was Joh. Diaconus as ignorant of St. Luke's writings as of Philo's?—Joh. Diac. ii. 12.

[c] "Infelix quippe animus meus, occupationis suæ pulsatus vulnere, meminit qualis aliquando in monasterio fuit, quomodo ei labentia cuncta subter erant; quantum rebus omnibus, quæ volvuntur, eminebat; quod nulla nisi cœlestia cogitare consueverat; quod etiam retentus corpore, ipsa jam carnis claustra contemplatione transibat; quod mortem quoque quæ pæne cunctis pœna est, videlicet ut ingressum vitæ, et laboris sui præmium amabat."—Præfat. in Dial. Oper. iii. p. 233: compare Epist. i. 4 to 7.

But he threw off at once and altogether the dreaming indolence of the contemplative life, and plunged into affairs with the hurried restlessness of the most ambitious statesman. His letters offer a singular picture of the incessant activity of his mind, the variety and multiplicity of his occupations. Nothing seems too great, nothing too insignificant for his earnest personal solicitude; from the most minute point in the ritual, or regulations about the papal farms in Sicily, he passes to the conversion of Britain, the extirpation of simony among the clergy of Gaul, negotiations with the armed conquerors of Italy, the revolutions of the Eastern empire, the title of Universal Bishop usurped by John of Constantinople. Consecrated Sept. 3. Jaffé.

The character of Gregory, as the representative of his times, may be considered I. as a Christian bishop organising and completing the ritual and offices of the Church; as administrator of the patrimony of the Roman See, and its distribution to its various pious uses. II. As the patriarch of the West, exercising authority over the clergy and the churches in Italy, in Gaul, and other parts of Europe; as the converter of the Lombards from Arianism, and the Saxons of Britain from heathenism; and in his conduct to pagans, Jews, and heretics, as maintaining the independence of the Western ecclesiastical power against the East. III. As virtual sovereign of Rome, an authority which he was almost compelled to assume; as guardian of the city, and the protector of the Roman population in Italy against the Lombards; and in his conduct to the Emperor Maurice, and to the usurper Phocas. Threefold character of Gregory.

I. Under Gregory the ritual of the Church assumed more perfect form and magnificence. The Roman ordinal, though it may have received additions from later pontiffs, in its groundwork and distribution belongs to Gregory. The organisation of the Roman clergy had probably been long complete; it comprehended the whole city and suburbs. The fourteen regions were divided into seven ecclesiastical districts. Thirty *titles* (corresponding with parishes) were superintended by sixty-six priests; the chief in each title was the cardinal priest. Services of the Church.

Each ecclesiastical region had its hospital or office for alms, over which a deacon presided; one of the seven was the archdeacon. Besides these, each hospital had an administrator, often a layman, to keep the accounts. The clergy of the seven regions officiated on ordinary occasions, each on one day of the week. Gregory appointed the *stations*, the churches in which were to be celebrated the more solemn services during Lent and at the four great festivals. On these high days the Pope proceeded in state, usually on horseback, escorted by the deacons and other officers, from his palace in the Lateran to St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, or some other of the great churches. He was received with obsequious ceremony, robed by the archdeacons, conducted to the choir with the incense and the seven candlesticks borne before him. Psalms were sung as he proceeded to his throne behind the altar. The more solemn portions of the service were of course reserved for the Supreme Pontiff.[d] But Gregory did not stand aloof in his haughty sanctity, or decline to exercise more immediate influence over the minds of the people. He constantly ascended the pulpit himself, and in those days of fear and disaster was ever preaching in language no doubt admirably adapted to their state of mind, tracing to their sins the visible judgments of God, exhorting them to profound humiliation, and impressing them with what appears to have been his own conviction—that these multiplying calamities were the harbingers of the Last day.

Gregory as preacher.

The music, the animating soul of the whole ritual, was under the especial care of Gregory. He introduced a new mode of chanting, which still bears his name, somewhat richer than that of Ambrose at Milan, but still not departing from solemn simplicity. He formed schools of singers, which he condescended himself to instruct; and from Rome the science was propagated throughout the West: it was employed even to soothe and

Music.

[d] The reader who may not be inclined to consult Gregory's own Sacramentarium and Antiphonarium, or the learned labours of Mabillon on the Ordo Romanus, will find a good popular view of the Roman service in Fleury, H. E. xxxvi. 16 *et seq.*

awe the barbarians of Britain. Augustine, the missionary, was accompanied by a school of choristers, educated in their art at Rome.[e]

As administrator of the Papal patrimony Gregory was active and vigilant, unimpeachably just and humane. The Churches, especially that of Rome, now possessed very large estates, chiefly in Calabria, in Sicily;[f] in the neighbourhood of Rome, Apulia, Campania, Liguria; in Sardinia and Corsica; in the Cozian Alps; in Dalmatia and Illyricum; in Gaul; and even in Africa, and the East.[g] There are letters addressed to the administrators of the Papal estates in all these territories; and in some cities, as Otranto, Gallipoli, perhaps Norcia, Nepi, Cuma, Capua, Corsealano; even in Naples, Palermo, Syracuse. Gregory prescribes minute regulations for these lands, throughout which prevails a solicitude lest the peasants should be exposed to the oppressions of the farmer or of the Papal officer. He enters into all the small vexatious exactions to which they were liable, fixes the precise amount of their payments, orders all unfair weights and measures to be broken, and new ones provided; he directs that his regulations be read to the peasants themselves; and, lest the old abuses should be revived after his death, they were to be furnished with legal forms of security against such suppressed grievances.[h] Gregory lowered the seignorial fees on the marriages of peasants not free. Nor, in the protection of the poor peasant, did he neglect the rights and interests of the farmer; he secured to their relatives the succession to their contracts,

Gregory as administrator of the See.

[e] The original copy of Gregory's Antiphonary, the couch on which he reclined while he instructed the singers, and the rod with which he threatened the boys, were preserved, according to John the Deacon, down to his time.—Vit. Greg. M. ii. 6.

[f] These estates were called the patrimony of the patron saints of the city, in Rome of St. Peter, in Milan of St. Ambrose, in Ravenna of St. Apollinaris. Ravenna and Milan had patrimonies in Sicily.

[g] Pope Celestine, writing, in the year 432, to the Emperor of the East, mentions "possessiones in Asiâ constitutas quas illustris et sanctæ recordationis Proba longâ a majoribus vetustate reliquerat Romanæ ecclesiæ." He prays the emperor that they may not be disturbed.

[h] Securitatis libellos. The whole of this letter (i. 42) should be read to estimate the character of Gregory as a landlord. The peasants were greatly embarrassed by the payment of the first term of their rent, which being due before they could sell their crops, forced them to borrow at very high interest. Gregory directed that they should receive an advance from the church treasury, and be allowed to pay by instalments.

and guarded the interests of their families by several just regulations. His maxim was, that the revenue of the Church must not be defiled by sordid gains.[l]

The revenue thus obtained with the least possible intentional oppression of the peasant and the farmer was distributed with the utmost publicity, and with rigid regard for the interests of the diocese.[k] Rome, which had long ceased to receive the tributary harvests of Africa and of Egypt, depended greatly on the bounty of the Pope. Sicily alone had escaped the ravages of war, and from her corn-fields, chiefly from the Papal estates, came the regular supplies which fed the diminishing, yet still vast, poor population.[m] In a synod at Rome it was enacted that the Pope should only be attended by ecclesiastics, who ought to enjoy the advantage of the example of his life, to the privacy of which the profane laity should not be admitted.[n]

The shares of the clergy and of the papal officers, the churches and monasteries, the hospitals, deaconries or ecclesiastical boards for the poor, were calculated in money, and distributed at four seasons of the year, at Easter, on St. Peter's day, St. Andrew's day, and that of the consecration of Gregory. The first day in every month he distributed to the poor in kind, corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, bacon, meat, fish, and oil.[o] The sick and infirm were superintended by persons appointed to inspect every street. Before the Pope sat down to his own meal a portion was separated and sent out to the hungry at his door. A great volume, containing the names, the ages, and the dwellings of the objects of papal bounty, was long preserved in the Lateran with reve-

[l] In more than one instance Gregory represses the covetousness of the clergy, who were not scrupulous in obtaining property for the church by unjust means. —Epist. vii. 2, 23, ii. 43. Bequests to monasteries continually occur.

[k] The quadripartite division, to the bishop, the clergy, the fabric and services of the church, and the poor, generally prevailed in the West.—Epist. iii. 11.

[m] Sicily, since its conquest, had paid as tribute a tenth of its corn to the metropolis; the papal patrimony was liable to this burthen. But in case of shipwreck the farmers or peasants were obliged to make good the loss. Gregory relieves his tenants from this iniquitous burthen.

[n] Epist. iv. 44.

[o] Among the instances of munificent grants by Gregory, see that of Aquæ Salviæ, with its farms and vineyards, two gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and other lands, part of the patrimony of St. Peter, to the church of St. Paul, to maintain the lights.—xiv. 14.

rential gratitude. What noble names may have lurked in that obscure list! The descendants of Consuls and Dictators, the Flamens and the Augurs of elder Rome, may have received the alms of the Christian prelate, and partaken in the dole which their ancestors distributed to their thousand clients. So severe was the charity of Gregory that one day, on account of the death of an unrelieved beggar, he condemned himself to a hard penance for the guilt of neglect as steward of the Divine bounty.[p]

[p] It would be curious to obtain even an approximation to the value of the patrimony of St. Peter at these times. These facts may be collected from the letters. 1. The patrimony in Gaul was comparatively small: it is repeatedly called (Epist. iv. 14, vi. 6) patrimoniolum. At one time the Pope received 400 solidi in money, it does not appear clearly whether the residue of the annual rent. But the patrimony in Gaul seems to have been chiefly transmitted, or expended (there were no bills of exchange) in coarse cloths of Gallic manufacture for the poor. Besides this, Gregory ordered the purchase of English youths, of 17 or 18, to be bred in monasteries for missionary purposes.—vi. 33. These 400 solidi (putting the ordinary current solidus at from 11*s.* to 12*s.*—the Gallic solidus was one-third less, say 7*s.* 6*d.*) would not be above 160*l.* In one case the Gallic bishops seem to have withheld part of the patrimony—in Gregory's eyes a great offence. "Valde est execrabile, ut quod a regibus gentium servatum est, ab episcopis dicatur ablatum."—vi. 53, 4. But in Sicily Gregory orders Peter the sub-deacon, his faithful administrator, to invest 280 pounds of gold in his hands in corn. Taking the pound of gold at 40*l.* (see Gibbon on Greaves, ch. xvii.; Epist. vi. 35, note), this would amount to 2000*l.*; if the value of money was one and a half more than now, 5000*l.* But the produce of Sicily cannot be estimated at the money-rent. It had great quantities of cattle, especially horses (to the improvement of which Gregory paid great attention) in the plains about Palermo and Syracuse. One mass or farm had been compelled by a dishonest factor to pay double rent to the amount of 507 aurei, nearly 280*l.* Gregory ordered it to be restored out of the property of the factor. The number of farms cannot be known, but suppose 100, and this an average rent. Rather more than a century later, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian confiscated to the public treasury the rights of the Roman See in Sicily, valued at three talents and a half.—Theophanes, Chron. p. 631, edit. Bonn. This passage, which at first sight promises the most full and accurate information, unfortunately offers almost insuperable difficulties. In the first place, the reading is not quite certain; nor is it absolutely clear, whether it means some charge on the revenue of the island, or the full rents and profits of the patrimony of St. Peter. But the chief perplexity arises from our utter ignorance of what is meant by a talent. The loss inflicted on the hostile see of Rome must no doubt have been considerable; otherwise the emperor would not have inflicted it on him whom he considered a refractory subject; nor would it have commanded the notice of the historian. But any known talent, above all the small gold talent of Sicily, would give but an insignificant sum, under 900*l.* It had occurred to me, and has been suggested by a high authority, that it may mean 3½ talents in weight, paid in gold money. Fines in the Theodosian code are fixed at so many pounds of gold. 1½ cwt. of gold (if Gibbon be about right, according to Greaves, in taking the pound of gold at 40*l.*,) would give a large, perhaps not an improbable, sum:[a] and, if the relative value of money be taken into account, must have been a most serious blow to the papal revenue.

[a] Compare, however, Paolo Sarpi, who, probably taking the ordinary talent, makes a much lower estimate (delle Mat. Benefic. c. ix.); but where did he find three talents of silver, half a one of gold, directly contrary to the text in Theophanes, and to the translation of

Nor was Gregory's active beneficence confined to the city of Rome. His letters are full of paternal interpositions in favour of injured widows and orphans. It was even superior to some of the strongest prejudices of the time. Gregory sanctioned that great triumph of the spirit over the form of religion, by authorising not merely the alienation of the wealth of the clergy, but even the sale of the consecrated vessels from the altar for the redemption of captives—those captives not always ecclesiastics, but laymen.[q]

Gregory Patriarch of the West.

II. Gregory did not forget the Patriarch of the West in the Bishop of Rome. Many churches in Italy were without pastors: their priests had been sold into slavery.[r] He refused to intermeddle in the election of bishops,[s] but his severe discipline did not scruple to degrade unworthy dignitaries and even prelates. Laurence, the first of the seven deacons, was deposed for his pride and other unnamed vices;[t] the Bishop of Naples for crimes capital both by the laws of God and man.[u] The Bishop of Salona is reproved for neglect of his solemn duties, and indulgence in convivial pleasures; for his contumacy in refusing to reinstate his archdeacon, he is deprived of his pallium; if he continues contumacious, he is to be excluded from communion. The Pope reproves the Bishop of Sipontum, in more than one angry letter, for his criminal and irreligious remissness in allowing the daughter of a man of rank to throw off her religious habit and return to a secular life.[v] He commands the bishop to arrest the woman who has thus defiled herself, and imprison her in a monastery till further instructions.[x] He commands Andrew

Anastasius? Much of this has been worked out, but far too positively, by the writer of a modern book for popular use, and therefore with no citation of authorities.—Bianchi-Giovini, Storia dei Pape. Capolago, 1851. t. iii. pp. 159–160.

[q] Gregory's humility is amusingly illustrated by his complaint, that of all his valuable stud in Sicily, his subdeacon had only sent him a sorry nag and five fine asses. The horse he could not mount because it was so wretched a one, the asses because they were asses. "Præterea unum nobis caballum miserum, et quinque bonos asinos transmisisti; caballum istum sedere non possum quia miser est, illos autem bonos sedere non possum quia asini sunt."—ii. 32.

[r] Epist. i. 8, 15. There is an instance of a clericus sold for 12 solidi, at which price he might be redeemed. Gregory directs the Bishop of Sipontum to take that sum, if it cannot be obtained elsewhere, from the captives' church.—iii. 17.

[s] Epist. ii. 29. [t] Epist. ii. in Præf.

[u] Epist. ii.; the ordo and plebs were to elect his successor.

[v] Epist. ii. 18. [x] Epist. iii. 43.

Bishop of Tarentum, if guilty of concubinage, to abdicate his see; if of cruelty to a female, to be suspended from his functions for two months.[y] To Januarius, the Bishop of Cagliari, he speaks in still more menacing terms for a far more heinous offence—ploughing up the harvest of a proprietor on a Sunday before mass, and removing the landmark after mass. Nothing but the extreme age of Januarius saved him from the utmost ecclesiastical punishment.[z] He gave a commission to four bishops to degrade the Bishop of Melita for some heinous offence: certain presbyters, his accomplices, were, it seems, to be imprisoned in monasteries.[a] We find the Bishop of Rome exercising authority in Greece over the Bishops of Thebes[b] and Larissa and Corinth.[c] The Bishops of Istria were less submissive. His attempts, at the commencement of his pontificate, to force them to condemn the three Chapters, were repressed by the direct interference of the Emperor.

In Gaul, simony and the promotion of young or unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities constantly demanded the interference of the Pontiff. The greater the wealth and honours attached to the sacred office, and the greater their influence over the barbarian mind, the more they were coveted for themselves, and sought by all the unscrupulous means of worldly ambition.[d] The epistles of Gregory to the bishops, to Queen Brunehild, to Thierry and Theodobert, and to Chlotair kings in Gaul, are full of remonstrances against these irregularities.[e]

Of all the great events of his pontificate, Gregory looked on none with more satisfaction than the conversion of the Arian-Gothic kingdom of Spain to Catholicism. He compares, in his humility, the few who in the last day will bear witness to his own zeal and influence, to the countless

[y] iii. 45.

[z] This seems to be the sense of the passage vii. ii. 1. which is obscure, probably corrupt. Januarius seems to have given Gregory much trouble. Another epistle censures him for exacting exorbitant burial fees.—vii. ii. 56. Oblations for lights might be received for those buried in the church.

[a] vii. ii. 63.

[b] Epist. iii. 6, 7.

[c] iv. 51.

[d] iv. 54.

[e] ix. 50 to 57. The privilegium said to have been granted by Gregory to the monastery of St. Medardus, anathematising kings and all secular persons who should infringe the decrees of his apostolic authority, and ranking them with Judas, is proved to be spurious by Launoi, and by Dupin.—Dissert. 7, de Antiq. Eccl. Discip.

multitudes who would owe their salvation to the orthodox example of King Recared.[f]

May 8, 589. The Council of Toledo, at which Spain publicly proclaimed its Catholicity, closes the history of the old Teutonic Arianism. The Lombards, indeed, remained to be subdued by the mild and Christian wisdom of Gregory; but in Burgundy and in Visigothic Gaul, the zeal and organisation of the Catholic clergy, and the terror, the power, the intrigues of the orthodox Franks, had driven it from the mind of the kings, and from the hearts of the people. Twice Arianism had assailed the independence of Burgundy; twice it fell before the victorious arms of the Franks, the prayers, and no doubt more powerful aid than prayers, of the Catholic hierarchy. The Council of Epaona (though Arianism rallied for the last desperate conflict under the younger Godemar after that Council) witnessed what might be considered the act of submission to Latin Christianity.

Fall of Arianism in Gaul. A.D. 517.

In Spain. The history of Visigothic Arianism in Spain is a more dire and awful tragedy. During the early reigns, both of the Suevian and Visigothic kings, the Catholic bishops had held their councils undisturbed; Arianism had maintained its lofty or prudent or indifferent toleration. Leovigild ascended the throne, the ablest, most ambitious monarch who had sat on an Arian-Gothic throne, except Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

572 to 586. Leovigild aspired to subdue the lawless Gothic lords who dwelt apart in their embattled mountain fastnesses, to compel the whole land (where each race, each rank, each creed asserted its wild freedom) to order and to law. He would be a king. He carried out his schemes with rigour and success. But he would compel religious differences also to unity. Himself a stern Arian, he even condescended to approximate, and with consummate art, to Catholicism; he sought by confounding to harmonise the contending parties; but he could not deceive the quick sight of the more vigilant, more intellectual Catholic hierarchy.

His young son, Hermenegild, became a Catholic—the

[f] Epist. ad Rechared. Reg. vii. 128.

Catholic a rebel. Seville and the southern cities rose against the King; Hermenegild was besieged in Seville; the Guadalquivir was blocked up; the city suffered the extremity of famine. Hermenegild fled to Cordova: he was sold by the Greeks, who possessed some of the havens under allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. He was imprisoned first, less rigorously, in pleasant Valencia; afterwards more harshly in Tarragona. He was shut up in a noisome dungeon, with manacles on his hands. The young martyr (he was but twenty-one years old) increased his own sufferings by the sackcloth, which chafed his soft and delicate limbs. He resisted all the persuasions, all the arts of his father. A fierce Goth, Sisebert, was sent into his cell, and clove his skull with an axe. The rebellious but orthodox Hermenegild, about ten centuries after, was canonised by Pope Sixtus V., through the influence of Philip II., the father of the murdered Don Carlos.[g]

Leovigild, before his death, was compelled at least to adopt milder measures towards his Catholic subjects. He is even said to have renounced his Arianism.

The first act of his son Recared was to avenge his brother's death on the murderer Sisebert. He hardly condescended to disguise, even for a year, his Catholicism; yet Recared was obliged to proceed with caution and reserve. It was not till the year before Gregory ascended the pontifical throne that Spain declared her return to Roman unity.[h]

In Africa Gregory endeavoured to suppress the undying remains of the Donatist factions, which even now aspired to the primacy of the Numidian Churches; but Donatism expired only with the Christianity of Northern Africa. Africa.

By Gregory Britain was again brought within the pale of Christian Europe. The visions of his own early

[g] The religion was not an affair of race: Massona, the Catholic bishop of Merida, was a Goth. Leovigild set up Sanna as a rival bishop of Merida. Leovigild threatened the holy Massona with exile. "If you know where God is not, command your servants to conduct me thither." A thunderclap pealed in the heavens. "That is the King of whom we and you should stand in awe. He is not a king like you."—Florez, España Sagrada.

[h] Gregory of Tours and John of Bisclar are the great authorities for this period of Spanish history.

spiritual ambition were fulfilled by his missionary, the monk Augustine. In a letter to the Bishop of Alexandria he relates with triumph the tidings of this conquest, as communicated by Augustine, who boasts already of ten thousand baptised converts.[i] But in the conversion of the heathen Gregory was neither a fierce nor intolerant iconoclast. He deprecated the destruction of the pagan temples; he enjoined their sanctification by Christian rites;[k] the idols only were to be destroyed without remorse. Even the sacrifices of oxen[m] were to continue, but to be celebrated on the saints' days, in order gently to transfer the adoration of the people from their old to their new objects of worship. In his letter to the King and Queen, Ethelred and Ethelburga, he is gentle, persuasive, but he intimates the rapidly approaching end of the world in those awful terms which might appal the mind of a barbarian.[n] Even Ireland was not beyond the sphere of Gregory's patriarchal vigilance. He was consulted by certain bishops of that island on the question of rebaptising heretics. He thought it necessary to inform those remote prelates, who perhaps were utterly ignorant of the controversy, as to his views on the three Chapters. The Irish bishops contrast their own state of peace with the calamities of Italy, and seem disposed to draw the inference that God approved their views on the contested points rather than those of the Italian prelates. Gregory replies that the miseries of Italy were rather signs of God's chastening love. The unconvinced Irish, however, adhered to their own opinions.[o]

Britain.

But if to these remote and yet unsubdued regions Gregory showed this wise forbearance, his solicitude to extirpate the last vestiges of heathenism which still lingered

[i] vii. 31.

[k] We find a singular illustration of the commercial intercourse kept up by means of religion: timber was to be brought from Britain to build the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome; and in several letters to the Bishop of Alexandria, Gregory informs him that he has sent him timber, an acceptable present in Egypt.

[m] It is curious to find the theory of the Egyptian origin of many of the Hebrew rites, received with so much apprehension in the writings of Spencer and Warburton, unsuspectingly promulgated by Gregory.—Epist. ix. 71.

[n] ix. 60.

[o] Letter of Columbanus published by Usher.—Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Lugd.

in Sardinia,[p] and a few other barbarous parts, was more uncompromising and severe. Towards those obstinate heathens he forgot on one occasion his milder language. He instructs the Bishop of Cagliari to preach to them. If his preaching is without effect, to compel them to repentance by imprisonment and other rigorous measures.[q]

Everywhere throughout the spiritual dominions of Gregory—in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Spain—the Jews dwelt mingled with his Christian subjects. To them Gregory was on the whole just and humane.[r] He censured the Bishop of Terracina for unjustly expelling the Jews from some place where they had been accustomed to celebrate their festivals. He condemned the forcible baptism of Jews in Gaul, which had been complained of by certain itinerant Jewish merchants.[s] Conviction by preaching was the only legitimate means of conversion. He did not scruple, however, to try the milder method of bribery. Certain Jewish tenants of Church property are told that if they embrace Christianity their rents will be lowered.[t] Even if their conversion be not sincere, that of their children may be so.[u] He denied them, however, the possession of Christian slaves, though where the slaves belonged as coloni to their estates (the Jews appear here, as in Sicily, in the unusual condition of landowners and cultivators of the soil), they were to maintain their uninvaded rights.[x] Slaves of Jewish masters, who, whether pagans or Jews, had taken refuge

Gregory and the Jews.

[p] Epist. iii. 23, 26; vii. 1, 2: compare 20.

[q] "Siquidem servi sunt, verberibus, cruciatibusque, quibus ad emendationem pervenire valeant, castigare. Si vero sunt liberi, inclusione dignâ distinctâque sunt in pœnitentiam dirigendi; ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire contemnunt, cruciatus (*ibus, qu?*) saltem eos corporis ad desiderandam mentis valeas reducere sanitatem."—vii. ii. 67.

[r] "Eos enim qui a religione Christianâ discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare."—Epist. i. 33.

[s] Epistle to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles, i. 45.

[t] iv. 6. This is remarkable as showing the Jews in the rare situation not only cultivators as the soil, but as cultivators of church lands. In another passage he is extremely indignant at the sale of church vessels to a Jew, who was to be compelled to restore them.—i. 51.

[u] ii. 37. See the curious story of a Jew who had deceived the Christians by setting up an altar to St. Elias, at which they were tempted to worship. (He must have been a singularly heretical Jew.) He was to be punished for the offence.

[x] Epistle to the Bishop of Luna. To Queen Brunehild Gregory expresses his wonder that in her dominions Jews were permitted to possess Christian slaves.—vii. ii. 115, 116.

in a church from the desire of embracing Christianity, were to be purchased from their owners.[y] Gregory endeavoured to check the European slave-trade, which was chiefly in the hands of the Jews, but his efforts were by no means successful.[z] Gregory reproved the Bishop of Cagliari, who had permitted a Jewish convert named Peter to seize the synagogue, and to set up within it a cross and an image of the Virgin. The Jews had been forbidden to build new synagogues, but were not to be deprived of those which they possessed. The images were to be removed with due respect, and the building restored to its rightful owners.[a] Directions in a similar spirit were given to the Bishop of Palermo.

Gregory and the heretics.

Gregory's humanity was hardly tried by the temptation of persecuting heretics. He was happily wanting both in power and in opportunity. The heresies of the East, excepting as to the three Chapters, had almost died away in the West. The Pelagian controversy had almost argued itself to rest; and even Manicheism, which was later to spring up in new forms, lurked only in obscure places, undetected by the searching jealousy of orthodoxy. Arianism in Spain had recanted its errors; among the Lombards it was an armed antagonist which could only be assailed, as it was victoriously assailed, by the gentle means of persuasion and love.

Bishop of Constantinople Universal Bishop.

While Gregory was thus, by his Christian virtues, establishing a substantial claim to Christian supremacy, and by superstitions congenial to the age still further unconsciously confirming his authority over the mind of man, he heard with astonishment and indignation that John the Patriarch of Constantinople had publicly, openly assumed the title of Universal Bishop, a title which implied his absolute supremacy over the Christian world. This claim rested on the civil supremacy of Constantinople. The Western empire had perished, Italy had sunk into a province, Rome into a provincial

[y] v. 31. In the next epistle Gregory expresses his indignation that certain Samaritans in Catana had presumed to circumcise their slaves. Compare vii. 1, 2, and xi. 15.

[z] vii. ii. 30: compare Hist. of Jews, iii.

[a] vii. ii. 59: compare xi. 15.

city. Constantinople was the seat of empire, the capital of the world; the bishop of the capital was of right the chief pontiff of Christendom. The pretensions of the successors of St. Peter were thus contemptuously set aside; the religious supremacy became a kind of appanage to the civil sovereignty; it lost at once its permanence, its stability, its independence; it might fluctuate with all the vicissitudes of political dominion, or the caprice of human despotism.[b]

The letter of Gregory to the Emperor Maurice pours forth his indignation with the utmost vehemence, yet not without skill. All the calamities of the empire are traced to the pride and ambition of the clergy, yet there is a prudent reservation for the awfulness of their power, if applied, as it ought to be, as mediators between earth and heaven. "What fleshly arm would presume to lift itself against the imperial majesty, if the clergy were unanimous in ensuring, by their prayers and by their merits, the protection of the Redeemer? Were the clergy what they should be, the fiercest barbarians would cease to rage against the lives of the innocent." "And is this a time, chosen by an arbitrary prelate, to invade the undoubted rights of St. Peter by a haughty and pompous title? Every part of Europe is abandoned to the dominion of the barbarians; cities are destroyed, fortresses overthrown, provinces depopulated, lands without inhabitants, the worshippers of idols are daily revelling in the massacre of the faithful, and the priests, who ought to be wailing in dust and ashes, A.D. 595. are inventing new and profane appellations to gratify their pride. Am I defending my own cause? Is this any special injury to the Bishop of Rome? It is the cause of God, the cause of the whole Church. And who is he that usurps this uncanonical dignity?—the prelate of a see repeatedly ruled by heretics, by Nestorians, by Mace-

[b] From the jealous and even angry tone in which Gregory writes to John Archbishop of Ravenna, who had dared to wear the pallium out of the church, and had ventured on other irregularities, at the same time that he protests that he always renders due honour to the church of Ravenna, it may be suspected that, as the residence of the Exarch, the emperor's representative, Ravenna was beginning to aspire towards some peculiar ecclesiastical superiority, at least to independence.—Epist. iv. ii. 15.

donians. Let all Christian hearts reject the *blasphemous* name. It was once applied, by the Council of Chalcedon, in honour of St. Peter, to the Bishop of Rome; but the more humble pontiffs of Rome would not assume a title injurious to the rest of the priesthood. I am but the servant of those priests who live as becomes their order. But 'pride goes before a fall;' and 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.'"[c]

To the Empress (for on all religious questions the Empress is usually addressed as well as the Emperor), Gregory brands the presumption of John as a sign of the coming of Antichrist; and compares it to that of Satan, who aspired to be higher than all the angels.[d]

Among the exhortations to humility addressed to John himself, he urges this awful example:—"No one in the Church has yet sacrilegiously dared to usurp the name of Universal Bishop. Whoever calls himself Universal Bishop is Antichrist."[e] Gregory appeals also to the Bishops of Antioch and Alexandria to unite with him in asserting the superior dignity of St. Peter, in which they have a common interest; and it is remarkable with what address he endeavours to enlist those prelates in his cause, without distinctly admitting their equal claim to the inheritance of St. Peter, to which Antioch at least might adduce a plausible title.[f]

Gregory as temporal sovereign.

III. In the person of Gregory the Bishop of Rome first became, in act and in influence, if not in avowed authority, a temporal sovereign. Nor were his acts the ambitious encroachments of ecclesiastical usurpation on the civil power. They were forced upon him by the purest motives, if not by absolute necessity. The virtual sovereignty fell to him as abdicated by the neglect or powerlessness of its rightful owners: he must assume it, or leave the city and the people to anarchy. He alone

[c] Epist. Maurit. Augusto. Epist. iv. 32.

[d] Ad Constant. Imperatric., Epist. iv. 33.

[e] Joanni Constant. Epist. iv. 38.

[f] "Itaque cum multi sunt apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola apostolorum principis sedes in auctoritate convaluit quæ in tribus locis unius est. . . . Cum ergo unius atque una sit sedes, cui ex auctoritate divinâ his nunc episcopi præsident, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, hoc mihi imputo, quod de me boni creditis hoc vestris meritis imputate."—Epist. vi. 37.

could protect Rome and the remnant of her citizens from barbaric servitude; his authority rested on the universal feeling of its beneficence; his title was the security afforded by his government.

Nothing could appear more forlorn and hopeless than the state of Rome on the accession of Gregory to the pontificate—continual wars, repeated sieges, the capture and recapture of the city by barbarian Goths and Vandals, and no less barbarous Greeks.[g] Fires, tempests, inundations had raged with indiscriminating fury. If the heathen buildings of the city had suffered most, it was because, from their magnitude and splendour, they were more exposed to plunder and devastation. The Christian city was indebted for its comparative security, if partially to its sanctity, in a great degree to its humility. Epidemic plagues, the offspring of these calamities, had been constantly completing the work of barbarian enemies and of the destructive elements.

After the pestilence which raged at the accession of Gregory had been arrested (an event attributed no doubt to the solemn religious ceremonies of the Bishop), his first care was that of a prefect of the city—to supply food for the famishing people. This, as has been shown, was chiefly furnished from Sicily and from the estates of the Church. During this whole period the city was saved from the horrors of famine only by the wise and provident regulations of the Pope.[h]

The Lombards.

But it was the Lombard invasion which compelled the Pope to take a more active part in the affairs of Italy. For seven and twenty years, says Gregory, we have lived in this city in terror of the sword of the Lombards. If during the few later years of Gregory's pontificate of thirteen years Rome enjoyed a precarious peace, that peace it owed to the intervention of her Bishop.

In their first invasion of Italy, under Alboin,[i] the Lom-

[g] Denina thinks that greater misery was inflicted upon Italy by the Grecian reconquest than by any other invasion. —Revoluz. d' Italia, t. i. l. v. p. 247.

[h] Gregory, in a letter to one of his agents in Sicily, writes thus:—"Quia si quid minus huc transmittetur, non unus quilibet homo, sed cunctus simul populus trucidatur."—Epist. i. 2.

[i] A.D. 567, twenty-three years before the popedom of Gregory, A.D. 590.

bards extended their conquests as far as Tuscany and Umbria. Rome, Ravenna, and a few cities on the sea-coast, alone escaped their devastations, and remained under the jurisdiction of the Exarch of Ravenna, the representative of the Byzantine empire. The tragedy of Alboin's death, and that of his adulterous Queen, Rosmunda; the cup made out of her father's skull, with which Alboin pledged her in a public banquet, her revenge, her own murder by her guilty paramour, though in the latter event the Exarch of Ravenna had taken part, belong, nevertheless, to the unmitigated ferocity of the barbarian. The Lombard host comprehended wild hordes of Teutonic or Sclavonian tribes.[k] They occupied all the cities of northern Italy, to which they gave the name of Lombardy; civilisation retreated as they advanced; the bishop, at their approach, fled from Milan. Nothing withheld them from the immediate and total subjugation of Italy but their wars with the Franks—wars excited by the intrigues of the Byzantine court, who by these means alone averted for a time the loss of their Italian territories.

A.D. 573. After the short reign of Cleph, the elected successor of Alboin, the kingdom was divided into dukedoms, and these martial independent princes continued to extend their ravages over the still retiring limits of the Roman dominion. They compelled the cultivators of the soil to pay a third part of their produce; they plundered churches and monasteries without scruple; massacred the clergy, destroyed the cities, and mowed down the people like corn.[m]

A.D. 584. The perpetual wars with the Franks, who still poured over the Alps, demanded from the Lombards a firmer government. Autharis was raised by acclamation to the Lombard throne. Within his own dominions the reign of Autharis was that of prosperity and peace. So only can any truth be assigned to the poetic description of his rule by the Latin historian the Deacon Paul, in whose glowing words the savage and desolating Lombards almost

[k] "Unde usque hodie eorum in quibus habitant vicos, Gepidos, Bulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus."—Paul. Dial. de Gestis Longobard., ii. 26.

[m] De Gestis Longobard., ii. 32.

suddenly became an orderly, peaceful, Christian people. "Wonderful was the state of the Lombard kingdom: violence and treachery were alike unknown; no one oppressed, no one plundered another; thefts and robberies were unheard of; the traveller went wherever he would in perfect security."[n] How strange a contrast with the bitter and unceasing complaints in the works of Gregory of the savage manners, remorseless cruelties, and sacrilegious impieties, of these most wicked Lombards,[o] these heathen or Arian enemies of Rome and of true religion! During a period of cessation in his wars with the Franks, King Autharis swept unresisted over the whole of Southern Italy. At Reggio, the extreme point, the conqueror rode his horse into the sea, and with his spear struck a column, which had been erected there, exclaiming, "This is the boundary of the Lombard kingdom." During this or former expeditions Lombard dukedoms had been founded in the south, of which the most formidable were those of Spoleto and Benevento. These half-independent chieftains waged war upon the Romans; the latter especially carried his ravages to the gates of Rome.

The Italians sent earnest supplications, and the Pope pressing message after message for succour, to the successive Emperors, Tiberius and Maurice. The Byzantine government was too feeble, or too much occupied by nearer enemies, to render effectual aid to this remote province: their allies, the Franks, were the only safeguards of Italy.

It was towards the close of the reign of Autharis that Gregory became bishop of the plague-stricken city. In the second year of his pontificate, Agilulf became the husband of Theodelinda, the widow of Autharis, and King of the Lombards.[p] The Exarch, who had not the power to avert, had the folly to provoke the Lombards to new invasions. He surprised

Gregory compelled to act in temporal affairs.

[n] Paul. Diac. iii. 16.

[o] "Nefandissimos Lombardos" is Gregory's standing epithet.

[p] Gregory ascribes the death of "Nefandissimus" Autharis to a direct judgment of God, for his prohibiting the baptism of Lombard children in the Catholic faith, "pro quâ culpâ eum divina majestas extinxit." Autharis was reported to have died by poison (Epist. i. 16, Nov.–Dec. 590)—probably an idle tale.—Paul. Diac. iii. 36.

Perugia and some other cities, and, to protect them, withdrew great part of the insufficient garrison of Rome. Agilulf poured his unresisted swarms into Southern Italy.[q]

Already had Gregory made peace with one formidable enemy, Ariulf, the Duke of Spoleto.[r] The predatory bands of the Lombard had threatened the city, where the walls were scarcely manned by a diminished and unpaid garrison. Agilulf, with his army, appeared at the gates of Rome.[s] Gregory suddenly brought to an end his exposition of the Temple of Ezekiel, on which he was preaching to the people. His work closes with these words:—"If I must now break off my discourse, ye are my witnesses for what reason, ye who share in my tribulations. On all sides we are girt with war; everywhere is the imminent peril of death. Some return to us with their hands chopped off, some are reported as captives, others as slain. I am constrained to cease from my exposition, for I am weary of life. Who can expect me now to devote myself to sacred eloquence, now that my harp is turned to mourning, and my speech to the voice of them that weep?"[t]

Gregory defends Rome.

At least, by encouraging the commanders of the garrison, who seem to have done their duty, Gregory contributed to avert the impending capture of the city. While all the Romans, even those of the highest rank and family, without the city were dragged like dogs into captivity,[u] at least those within were in safety, and owed their safety to the Pope; and the pacific influence which Gregory obtained in this momentous crisis led, after some years, to a definitive treaty of peace.[x]

[q] "Non Romanorum," wrote Gregory, "sed Longobardorum episcopus factus sum."

[r] Gregory's letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna shows how these affairs were thrown upon him. "Movere vos non debet Romani patricii animositas. Age cum eo ut pacem cum Ariulpho faciamus, quia miles de Româ ablatus est. Theodosiani vero, qui remanserunt, rogam non accipientes vix ad murorum custodiam se accommodant, et destituta ab omnibus civitas, si pacem non habet, quomodo subsistat?"—Epist. ii. 32.

[s] Chronologists differ as to the date of this siege. Sigonius gives 594, Baronius 595. I should agree with Muratori for 592, or at latest 593. Jaffé dates it 592, July.—Epist. ii. 46.

[t] Job. xxx. 31, Exposit. in Ezekiel. sub fin.

[u] It is not quite clear at what period the noble Romans, whom Gregory was anxious to ransom from the nefandissimi Lombardi, were carried into captivity upon the taking of Crotona.—Epist. vi. 23.

[x] Sigonius places the final peace in 599; so also Jaffè, March.—Epist. ix. 42.

Yet while Gregory was thus exercising the real power, and performing the protecting part of a sovereign, the Exarch, the feeble and insolent Romanus, affected to despise the weakness of Gregory, in supposing the barbarous Lombards disposed to peace.[y] The Emperor Maurice, safe in his palace, at Constantinople, looked with jealousy on the proceedings of Gregory, who thus presumed to save the narrow remnant of his dominions without his sanction, and disowned the peace, made, it should seem, by Gregory on his own authority.[z] Gregory, indeed, according to his own statement, possessed greater powers than he displayed. The fate of the whole Lombard race depended on his will. On the occasion of a charge made against him, as having been accessory to the death of a bishop, he is not content with repelling the accusation as false, and alien to his humane disposition, but he desires the Emperor to be reminded, that if he had been disposed to mingle himself up with the death of the Lombards, the nation would have been without king, duke, or count, and would have fallen into utter confusion. But the fear of God had forbidden him to be concerned in the death of any human being.[a] It is difficult to reject this as an idle boast; more difficult to fix any period or to point to any juncture in which the Pope's humanity was exposed to this temptation.

But it is most singular that the influence of Gregory was obtained by means not only more mild and legitimate, but purely religious. In their very hour of conquest he was subduing the conqueror. While the Lombard king was at the gates of Rome, at the head of a hostile and ferocious army, Gregory was

Conversion of Lombards. March, 599.

[y] According to Gregory, the oppressions of the Exarchs were even worse than the hostilities of the Lombards. "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit: ita ut benigniores videantur hostes, qui nos interimunt quam reipublicæ judices, qui nos malitiâ suâ, rapinis atque fallaciis in cogitatione consumunt."—Epist. ad Sebast. Episc. vi. 42.

[z] Epist. v. 40: compare v. 42.

[a] "Quod breviter suggeras domino nostro, quia si ego servus eorum in morte Longobardorum miscere me voluissem, hodie Longobardorum gens nec Regem, nec Duces nec Comites haberet, atque in summâ confusione esset divisa."—Epist. vii. 1, ad Sabin. quoted also in Paul. Diacon. This seems to point at some conspiracy devised to massacre the Lombard chiefs. It cannot mean any fanatic confidence in his own prayers, as of power to pluck down divine vengeance upon them.

pursuing the triumphs of the Catholic faith, entertaining a friendly correspondence with the orthodox Queen Theodelinda, and beginning, at least, to wean the sovereign and his subjects from what he thought, doubtless, the worst part of their character, their Arianism. Theodelinda was a Bavarian princess, bred up in Trinitarian belief, and to her Gregory appeals to show her genuine Christianity by her love of peace. Great would be her reward if she should check the prodigal effusion of blood. To Theodelinda Gregory addressed his memorable Dialogues; and perhaps the best excuse which can be made for the wild and extravagant legends thus stamped with his authority, and related apparently with such undoubting faith, may be found in the person to whom he dedicated this work. They might be, if not highly coloured, selected with less scruple in order to impress the Lombard queen with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy, of the orthodox monks and bishops of Italy. Profound as was the superstition of Gregory, many of these stories need some such palliation.[b]

Gregory employed the influence which he had obtained over Queen Theodelinda not merely to secure for Rome the blessings of peace; through him likewise, according to the annalist of the Lombards, from heathens, or, at most, Arians, who paid no regard to the sacred possessions, the edifices, or the ministers of the Church, the whole nation, with Agilulf, their king, became orthodox Christians. Agilulf restored the wealth which he had plundered from the churches, reinstated the ejected bishops, and raised those who had remained in their sees from abject poverty and degradation to dignity and power.[c] At what period this conversion took place it is difficult to decide; throughout Gregory's writings the Lombards are mentioned with unmitigated abhorrence; it could only, therefore, be towards the close of his life that this important event can be thought possible.

Still, however, Gregory acknowledged himself a subject

[b] Some writers have endeavoured to relieve the memory of Gregory the Great from the authorship of the Dialogues. But there can be no reasonable doubt of their authenticity; they are entirely in his style and manner, and alluded to more than once in his unquestioned writings.

[c] Paull. Diac. iv. 6.

of the Emperor. Though constrained to negotiate a separate peace, this measure was submissively excused as compelled by hard necessity. Even in his strongest act of opposition to the Byzantine court, in which the civil power of the Emperor and the monastic spirit of the Pope seemed to meet in irreconcileable hostility, his resistance to the law which prohibited soldiers actually enrolled or enlisted by a mark on the hand from deserting their duty to their country, and taking refuge in monasteries, Gregory did not dare to resist the publication of the edict.[d] His language is that of supplication rather than remonstrance; the humble expostulation of a subject, not the bold assertion of spiritual power. "I confess, my Sovereigns, that I am struck with terror at this edict, by which heaven is closed against so many; and that which before was lawful to all, is prohibited to some. Many, indeed, may lead a religious life in a secular habit, but the most of men cannot be saved before God but by leaving all they have. What am I, who thus address my Sovereigns? Dust, and a worm! But I cannot be silent before my Sovereigns, because this edict is directed against God, the author of all things. Power was given to my Sovereigns over all men, to assist the good, to open wide the way to heaven; and that the kingdom of earth might be subservient to the kingdom of heaven. And now, behold, it is proclaimed that no one who is marked as an earthly soldier, unless he has completed his service, or is discharged from infirmity, shall be allowed to be a soldier of Jesus Christ. To this Christ answers, by me, the lowliest of his servants and yours: 'From a notary I made you captain of the guards; from captain of the guards, Cæsar; from Cæsar, emperor; and, more than that, the father of emperors. I commended my priests to your care, and you withdraw your soldiers from my service.' Tell thy servant what answer you will make to the Lord when he comes to judgment. It is supposed, perhaps, that such conversions are not sincere; but I, your unworthy servant, know many converted soldiers who in our own days have worked miracles and done many signs and wonders. And will you

Imperial law about monastics.

[d] This edict dates 593. Gregory's letter, Aug. 593.—Jaffè.

prohibit the conversion of such men by law? Inquire what emperor it was that first issued such a statute.[e] Consider seriously, is this the time to prohibit men from leaving the world, when the end of the world is at hand? But a short time, and the earth and the heavens will burn, and among the blazing elements, amid angels and archangels, and thrones and dominions, and principalities and powers, the terrible Judge will appear. And what, if all your sins be remitted, and this law rise up against you, will be your excuse? By that terrible Judge, I beseech you, let not so many tears, so many prayers, and alms, and fastings be obscured before the sight of God. Either mitigate or alter this law. The armies of my Sovereigns will be strengthened against their enemies in proportion as the armies of God, whose warfare is by prayer, are increased. I, who am subject to your authority, have commanded the law to be transmitted throughout the empire, but I have also avowed to my Sovereigns that I esteem it displeasing to God. I have done my duty in both cases; I have obeyed the Emperor, and not compromised my reverence for God."[f]

Usurpation of Phocas.

The darkest stain on the name of Gregory is his cruel and unchristian triumph in the fall of the Emperor Maurice—his base and adulatory praise of Phocas, the most odious and sanguinary tyrant who had ever seized the throne of Constantinople. It is the worst homage to religion to vindicate or even to excuse the crimes of religious men; and the apologetic palliation, or even the extenuation of their misdeeds rarely succeeds in removing, often strengthens, the unfavourable impression.

The conduct of the Emperor Maurice to Gregory had nothing of that vigour or generosity which had commended him to his Eastern subjects, while the avarice which had estranged their affections contributed manifestly towards the abandonment of Italy to the Lombard invader. Gregory owed not his elevation to Maurice. The cold consent of the Byzantine Emperor had ratified his elec-

[e] The allusion is to Julian the Apostate.—See Epist. 65. In the same letter Gregory asserts the temporal dominion of the sovereign in still stronger terms. "Qui dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit."

[f] Ad Maurit. Imperat.—Epist. ii. 62.

tion, and from that time the Emperor had treated him with neglect and contempt. On one occasion Maurice had called him in plain terms a fool for allowing himself to be imposed upon by the craft of the Lombard Ariulf. "A fool indeed I am," replied Gregory, "to suffer, as I do, among the swords of the Lombards."[g] Throughout his reign Maurice had impotently resented the enforced interference of Gregory in temporal affairs. He had thwarted and repudiated his negotiations, by which Rome was saved. The only act of vigour by which the Emperor had attempted to recruit his Italian armies had been that which Gregory in his monastic severity had denounced as a flagrant impiety. Maurice had, at least, connived at the arrogant usurpation of the title of Universal Bishop by the patriarch of Constantinople, even if he had not deliberately sanctioned it.[h]

Could it be expected that Gregory should rise superior to all these causes of animosity; that he should altogether suppress or disguise what might appear his patriotic and religious hopes from a change of dynasty? Such revolutions were of so frequent occurrence on the throne of Byzantium as to awaken little surprise, and less sympathy, in the remote provinces; and the allegiance of Italy was but of recent date—an allegiance which subjected the land to all the tyranny and oppression, and afforded none of the protection and security, of a regular government.

At the time of his insurrection Phocas was an undistinguished soldier, raised by the acclamations of the army to the post of peril and honour;[i] his mean and cruel cha-

[g] Epist. iv. 31. The craft which has been imputed to Gregory may perhaps be traced in this remarkable letter. He acknowledges himself and the priesthood in general subject to the censure of the emperor. "Sed excellenti consideratione propter eum cujus servi sunt, eis *ita dominetur*, ut etiam *debitam reverentiam* impendat. Nam in divinis eloquiis sacerdotes aliquando dii, aliquando angeli vocantur."

[h] Maurice, according to the biographer of Gregory, had meditated more violent hostility against the Pope, but had been deterred by the alarming prophecy of a monk.—Vit. Greg.

[i] Theophylact, viii. 1, Vol. 1, p. 706, edit. Bonn. His person and character are thus described by the hatred of later writers. He was short, deformed, with a fierce look, and red hair, with his brows meeting and his chin shaved. He had a scar on his cheek, which looked black when he was angry. He was a drunkard, lewd, sanguinary, stern and savage in speech, pitiless, brutal, and a heretic! His wife Leonto was as bad.—Cedren. Lib. i. p. 708.

racter, even his repulsive and hideous person, might be unknown in Rome; and Gregory might suppose that in such an exigency the choice of the army would not fall upon a man without courage, energy, or ability. It was no uncommon event in the annals of the empire to transfer the diadem to some bold military adventurer: Rome and Constantinople owed some of their best rulers to such revolutions.

But the common usage of such revolutions could not vindicate to a Christian prelate the barbarities with which Maurice and his infant family were put to death; and the high-wrought resignation of Maurice, it might have been supposed, would awaken ardent admiration in a mind like Gregory's. "If he is a coward, he will be a murderer!" such was the prophetic language of Maurice concerning the successful usurper. Maurice had taken refuge in a sanctuary; but when Phocas appeared as Emperor at the gates, when, in discharge of the first imperial duty at Constantinople, he interfered between the blue and the green factions in the Circus, which still excited fiercer animosities than those of the state, the Blues, against whom the usurper took part, broke out into menacing and significant shouts, "Maurice is not dead!" Phocas immediately ordered the fallen emperor to be dragged from his sanctuary. His five sons were butchered before his face. The unmoved and tearless father, as each received the fatal blow, exclaimed, "Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgments!" With a sterner feeling of self-sacrifice, if it were not, indeed, despair, which took the form of frenzy, he betrayed the pious fraud of a nurse, who had substituted her own child for the youngest of the Emperor. Maurice was beheaded the last;[k] the heads were cast before the throne of Phocas, who would not allow them, till compelled by their offensiveness, to be buried.

The intelligence of these events, with most, at least, of

[k] According to the biographer, Maurice owed profound obligations to Gregory, which might overbalance his merciless rejoicings at his worldly fate. He owed his eternal salvation to the prayer of Gregory. "Et quia oratio Gregorii, quâ illum petierat in terribili Dei judicio liberum ab omnibus delictis inveniri, *vacua esse non potuit*: idem Mauricius id recepit quod meruit et in cunctis suis incommodis Deum benedicens, a sempiterno supplicio meruit liberari." — Joann. Diac. iii. 19.

their revolting circumstances, must have arrived at Rome at the same time with that of the fall of Maurice and the elevation of Phocas. It is astonishing that even common prudence did not temper the language of the triumphant Pontiff, who launches out into a panegyric on the mercy and benignity of the usurper, calls on earth and heaven to rejoice at his accession, augurs peace and prosperity to the empire from his pious acts, and even seems to anticipate the return of the old republican freedom under the rule of the devout and gentle Phocas.[m]

The sad truth is, that Gregory was blinded by the one great absorbing object, the interest of the Church, which to him involved the interest of religion, of mankind, and of God. Loyalty, justice, candour, even humanity, yielded to the dominant feeling. Maurice was not above suspicion of heresy; the unscrupulous hostility, no doubt, of political enemies taunted him as a Marcionist. At all events, he had countenanced the usurpation of the Bishop of Constantinople. John of Constantinople, with his sanction, called himself Universal Bishop. The new emperor, out of enmity to the old, would probably espouse the opposite side. Already Phocas seems to have invited in some way the adulation of Gregory; and reverence for the see of Rome, obedience to legitimate ecclesiastical authority, were in themselves, or gave the promise of, such transcendant virtues, that rebellion, murder, brutal barbarity, were overlooked, as the accidental result of circumstances, the inevitable evils of a beneficial revolution. So completely, by this time, had the sacerdotal obtained the superiority over the moral influence of Christianity, that even a man of Gregory's unquestioned Christian gentleness and natural humanity could not escape the predominant passion.

June, 603.

Phocas Emperor. A.D. 602-610.

Gregory was spared the pain and shame of witnessing the utter falsehood of his pious vaticinations as to the glorious and holy reign of Phocas. In the second year of the

[m] "Lætentur cœli et exultet terra; et de benignis vestris actibus universæ reipublicæ populus, nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat. . . . Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt; Imperatores vero reipublicæ domini liberorum."—Epist. xi. 38.

tyrant's reign he closed the thirteen important years of his pontificate. The ungrateful Romans paid but tardy honours to his memory. His death was followed by a famine, which the starving multitude attributed to his wasteful dilapidation of the patrimony of the Church—that patrimony which had been so carefully administered, and so religiously devoted to their use. Nothing can give a baser notion of their degradation than their actions. They proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the library of Gregory, and were only deterred from their barbarous ravages by the interposition of Peter, the faithful archdeacon. Peter had been interlocutor of Gregory in the wild legends contained in the Dialogues. The archdeacon now assured the populace of Rome that he had often seen the Holy Ghost, in the visible shape of a dove, hovering over the head of Gregory as he wrote. Gregory's successor therefore hesitated, and demanded that Peter should confirm his pious fiction or fancy by an oath. He ascended the pulpit, but before he had concluded his solemn oath he fell dead. That which to an hostile audience might have been a manifest judgment against perjury, was received as a divine testimony to his truth.[n] The Roman Church has constantly permitted Gregory to be represented with the Holy Ghost, as a dove, floating over his head.[o]

Death of Gregory, March 10, 604.

The historian of Christianity is arrested by certain characters and certain epochs, which stand as landmarks between the close of one age of religion and the commencement of another. Such a character is Gregory the Great; such an epoch his pontificate, the termination of the sixth century.

Gregory, not from his station alone, but by the acknow-

[n] Joann. Diacon. Vit. iv. 69.

[o] I am disposed to insert the epitaph on Gregory as an example of the poetry and of the religious sentiment of the times :—

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum,
Reddere quod valeas, vivificante Deo.
Spiritus alta petit, leti nil jura nocebunt,
Cui vitæ alterius mors magis illa via est.
Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulcro,
Qui innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis.
Esuriem dapibus superavit, frigora veste,
Atque animas monitis texit ab hoste suis.
Implebatque actu quicquid sermone docebat,
Esset ut exemplum mystica verba loquens.
Anglos ad Christum vertit, pietate ministrâ,
Acquirens fideique agmina gente nova.
Hic labor, hoc studium, hæc tibi cura, hoc, pastor, agebas,
Ut Domini offerres plurima lucra greges.
Hisque Dei consul factus lætare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.

Remark the old Roman image in the last line but one.

ledgment of the admiring world, was intellectually, as well as spiritually, the great model of his age. He was proficient in all the arts and sciences cultivated at that time; the vast volumes of his writings show his indefatigable powers; their popularity and their authority his ability to clothe those thoughts and those reasonings in language which would awaken and command the general mind.

His epoch was that of the final Christianisation of the world, not in outward worship alone, not in its establishment as the imperial religion, the rise of the church upon the ruin of the temple, and the recognition of the hierarchy as an indispensable rank in the social system, but in its full possession of the whole mind of man, in letters, arts, as far as arts were cultivated, habits, usages, modes of thought, and in popular superstition.

Not only was heathenism, but, excepting in the laws and municipal institutions, Romanity itself, absolutely extinct. The reign of Theodoric had been an attempt to fuse together Roman, Teutonic, and Christian usages. Cassiodorus, though half a monk, aspired to be a Roman statesman, Boetius to be a heathen philosopher. The influence of the Roman schools of rhetoric is betrayed even in the writers of Gaul, such as Sidonius Apollinaris; there is an attempt to preserve some lingering cadence of Roman poetry in the Christian versifiers of that age. At the close of the sixth century all this has expired; ecclesiastical Latin is the only language of letters, or rather, letters themselves are become purely ecclesiastical. The fable of Gregory's destruction of the Palatine Library is now rejected, as injurious to his fame; but probably the Palatine Library, if it existed, would have been so utterly neglected that Gregory would hardly have condescended to fear its influence. His aversion to such studies is not that of dread or hatred, but of religious contempt; profane letters are a disgrace to a Christian bishop; the truly religious spirit would loathe them of itself.[a]

[a] See the pious wonder with which he reproves a bishop of Gaul. "Post hæc pervenit ad nos, quod *sine verecundiâ* memorare non possumus, fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere. . . . Quam grave nefandumque sit episcopos canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera." — Epist. ix. 48.

What, then, was this Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world? Not merely the speculative and dogmatic theology, but the popular, vital, active Christianity, which was working in the heart of man; the dominant motive of his actions, as far as they were affected by religion; the principal element of his hopes and fears as regards the invisible world and that future life which had now become part of his conscious belief.

Christian mythology.

The history of Christianity cannot be understood without pausing at stated periods to survey the progress and development of this Christian mythology, which, gradually growing up and springing as it did from natural and universal instincts, took a more perfect and systematic form, and at length, at the height of the Middle Ages, was as much a part of Latin Christianity as the primal truths of the Gospel. This growth, which had long before begun, had reached a kind of adolescence in the age of Gregory, to expand into full maturity during succeeding ages. Already the creeds of the Church formed but a small portion of Christian belief. The highest and most speculative questions of theology, especially in Alexandria and Constantinople, had become watchwords of strife and faction, had stirred the passions of the lowest orders; the two Natures, or the single or double Will in Christ, had agitated the workshop of the artisan and the seats in the Circus. But when these great questions had sunk into quiescence, or, as in Latin Christianity, had never so fully occupied the general mind; when either the triumph of one party, or the general weariness, had worn out their absorbing interest, the religious mind subsided into its more ordinary occupations, and these bore but remote relation to the sublime truths of the Divine Unity and the revelation of God in Christ. As God the Father had receded, as it were, from the sight of man into a vague and unapproachable sanctity; as the human soul had been entirely centred on the more immediate divine presence in the Saviour; so the Saviour himself might seem to withdraw from the actual, at least the exclusive, devotion of the human heart, which was busied with intermediate objects of worship. Christ assumed

gradually more and more of the awfulness, the immateriality, the incomprehensibleness, of the Deity, and men sought out beings more akin to themselves, more open, it might seem, to human sympathies. The Eucharist, in which the Redeemer's spiritual presence, yet undefined and untransubstantiated, was directly and immediately in communion with the soul, had become more and more wrapt in mystery; though the great crowning act of faith, the interdiction of which was almost tantamount to a sentence of spiritual death, it was more rarely approached, except by the clergy. Believers delighted in those ceremonials to which they might have recourse with less timidity; the shrines and the relics of martyrs might deign to receive the homage of those who were too profane to tread the holier ground. Already the worship of these lower objects of homage begins to intercept that to the higher; the popular mind is filling with images either not suggested at all, or suggested but very dimly, by the sacred writings; legends of saints are supplanting, or rivalling at least, in their general respect and attention, the narratives of the Bible.

Of all these forms of worship, the most captivating, and captivating to the most amiable weaknesses of the human mind, was the devotion to the Virgin Mary. The worship of the Virgin had first arisen in the East;[b] and this worship, already more than initiate, contributed, no doubt, to the passionate violence with which the Nestorian controversy was agitated, while that controversy, with its favourable issue to those who might seem most zealous for the Virgin's glory, gave a strong impulse to the worship. The denial of the title "The Mother of God," by Nestorius, was that which sounded most offensive to the general ear; it was the intelligible odious point in his heresy. The worship of the Virgin now appears in the East as an integral part of Christianity. Among Justinian's splendid edifices arose many churches dedicated to the Mother of God.[c] The feast of the Annunciation is already celebrated under Justin and Justinian.[d] Heraclius has images

[b] Evagr. ii E. v. 19.
[c] Procop. de Edif. c. 6.
[d] Niceph. H. E. xvii. 28.

of the Virgin on his masts when he sails to Constantinople to overthrow Phocas.[e] Before the end of the century the Virgin is become the tutelar deity of Constantinople, which is saved by her intercession from the Saracens.[f]

Worship of the Virgin.

In the time of Gregory the worship of the Virgin had not assumed that rank in Latin Christianity to which it rose in later centuries, though that second great impulse towards this worship, the unbounded admiration of virginity, had full possession of his monastic mind. With Gregory celibacy was the perfection of human nature; he looked with abhorrence on the contamination of the holy sacerdotal character, even in its lowest degree, by any sexual connexion.[g] No sub-deacon, after a certain period, was to be admitted without a vow of chastity; no married sub-deacon to be promoted to a higher rank. In one of his expositions[h] he sadly relates the *fall* of one of his aunts, a consecrated virgin; she had been guilty of the sin of marriage. Of all his grievances against the Exarch of Ravenna none seems more worthy of complaint than that he had encouraged certain nuns to throw off their religious habits, and to marry.[i] Gregory does not seem to have waged this war against nature, however his sentiments were congenial with those of his age, with his wonted success.[j] His letters are full of appeals to sovereigns and to bishops to repress the incontinence of the clergy; even monasteries were not absolutely safe.[k]

[e] Theophanes, p. 429, edit. Bonn.

[f] Theophan. p. 609 *et passim.*

[g] "Nullus debet ad ministerium altaris accedere, nisi cujus castitas ante susceptum ministerium sit approbata." —Epist. i. 42. He protests against the election of a bishop who had a young daughter; this bishop, however, was also simplex, and charged with usury.—viii. 40. No bigamist, or one who had married a wife not a virgin, to be received into orders. Marriages, however, Gregory declares, cannot be dissolved on account of religion; *both* parties must consent to live continently in marriage.—ix. 39.

[h] That on the text, "many are called, but few chosen."

[i] Epist. iv. 18.

[j] The absurd story about Gregory's fishponds paved with the sculls of the drowned infants of the Roman clergy, is only memorable as an instance of what writers of history will believe, or persuade themselves they believe, when it suits party interest. But by whom, or when, was it invented? It is much older than the Reformation.

[k] Epist. viii. 21. The regulations of Gregory about the monastic life are in a wiser spirit. None were to be received as monks under 18 (Epist. i. 41); none without two years' probation (iv. 44, viii. 23); but monks who left their monasteries were to be confined for life (i. 33, 40, xii. 28). He mentions also the wandering Africans, who were often secret Manicheans.

It was not around the monastery alone, the centre of this preternatural agency, that the ordinary providence of God gave place to a perpetual interposition of miraculous power. Every Christian was environed with a world of invisible beings, who were constantly putting off their spiritual nature, and assuming forms, uttering tones, distilling odours, apprehensible by the soul of man, or taking absolute and conscious possession of his inward being. A distinction was drawn between the pure, spiritual, illimitable, incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, and the thin and subtile, but bodily forms of angels and archangels. These were perceptible to the human senses, wore the human form, spoke with human language: their substance was the thin air, the impalpable fire; it resembled the souls of men, but yet, whenever they pleased, it was visible, performed the functions of life, communicated not with the mind and soul only, but with the eye and ear of man.[m]

Angels.

The hearing and the sight of religious terror were far more quick and sensitive. The angelic visitations were but rare and occasional; the more active Demons were ever on the watch, seizing and making every opportunity of beguiling their easy victims.[n] They were everywhere present, and everywhere betraying their presence. They ventured into the holiest places; they were hardly awed by the most devout saints; but, at the same time, there was no being too humble, to whose seduction they would not condescend—nothing in ordinary life so trivial and insignificant but that they would stoop to

Devils.

[m] The following definition is of a later period, but represents the established notion:—*περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτους ἀγίων δυνάμεων, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, νοεροὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, οὐ μὴν ἀσωμάτους πάντη καὶ ἀοράτους, ὡς ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες φατέ· λεπτοσωμάτους δὲ καὶ ἀερώδεις ἢ πυρώδεις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγελούς αὐτοὺς πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.*—Joann. Episcop. Thessalon. apud Concil. Nic. ii., Labbe, p. 354.

[n] Read Cassian, who writes indeed of monks, but the belief was universal. "Nosse debemus non omnes universas dæmones passiones ingerere, sed unicuique vitio certos spiritus incubare: et alios quidem immunditiis ac libidinum sordibus delectari; alios blasphemiis, alios iræ furorique proclivius imminere, alios cenodoxiâ superbiâque mulceri; et unumquemque illud vitium humanis cordibus, quo ipse gaudet, inserere: sed non cunctos pariter suas ingerere pravitates, sed vicissim prout temporis vel loci vel suscipientis opportunitas provocaverit."—Cass. Coll. 7, c. 17.

employ it for their evil purposes. They were without the man, terrifying him with mysterious sounds and unaccountable sights. They were within him, compelling all his faculties to do their bidding, another indwelling will besides his own, compelling his reluctant soul to perform their service. Every passion, every vice, had its especial demon; lust, impiety, blasphemy, vain-glory, pride, were not the man himself, but a foreign power working within him. The slightest act, sometimes no act at all, surrendering the soul to the irresistible indwelling agent. In Gregory's Dialogues a woman eats a lettuce without making the sign of the cross; she is possessed by a devil, who had been swallowed in the unexorcised lettuce. Another woman is possessed for admitting her husband's embraces the night before the dedication of an oratory.

Martyrs.

Happily there existed, and existed almost at the command of the clergy, a counterworking power to this fatal diabolic influence, in the perpetual presence of the saints, more especially in hallowed places, and about their own relics.[o] These relics were the treasure with which the clergy, above all the bishops of Rome, who possessed those of St. Peter and St. Paul, with countless others, ruled the mind; for by these they controlled and kept in awe, they repaired the evils wrought by this whole world of evil spirits. Happy were the churches, the monasteries, whose foundations were hallowed and secured by these sacred talismans. To doubt their presence in these dedicated shrines, in the scenes of their martyrdom, obstinately to require the satisfaction of the senses as to their presence, was an impious want of faith; belief, in proportion to the doubtfulness of the miracle, was the more meritorious. Kings and queens bowed in awe before the possessors and dispensers of these wonder-working treasures,[p] which were

[o] Gregory thus lays down the doctrine of his age: "Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres jacent, dubium, Petre, non est, quod multa valeant signa demonstrare, sicut et fecerunt, et purâ mente quærentibus innumera miracula ostendunt. Sed quia ab infirmis mentibus potest dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ibi præsentes sunt, ubi constat, quia in suis corporibus non sunt, ita necesse est eos majora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum præsentiâ potest mens infirma dubitare. Quorum vero mens in Deo fixa est, tanto magis habet fidei meritum, quando eos novit, et non jacere corpore, et tamen non deesse ad exaudiendum."

[p] See letters to the Bishop of Xaintonge and Brunechild Queen of France.

not only preservative against worldly calamities, but absolved from sin.[q]

Relics had now attained a self-defensive power; profane hands which touched them withered; and men who endeavoured to remove them were struck dead.[r] Such was the declaration of Gregory himself, to one who had petitioned for the head or some part of the body of St. Paul. It was an awful thing even to approach to worship them. Men who had merely touched the bones of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, though with the pious design of changing their position or placing the scattered bones together, had fallen dead, in one case to the number of ten. The utmost that the Church of Rome could bestow would be a cloth which had been permitted to touch them; and even such cloths had been known to bleed. If, indeed, the chains of St. Paul would yield any of their precious iron to the file, which they often refused to do, this, he writes, he would transmit to the Empress; and he consoles her for the smallness of the gift by the miraculous power which it will inherently possess.[s] Relics.

Gregory doled out such gifts with pious parsimony. A nail which contained the minutest filings from the chains of St. Peter[t] was an inestimable present to a patrician, or an ex-consul, or a barbaric king. Sometimes they were inserted in a small cross; in one instance with fragments of the gridiron on which St. Lawrence was roasted.[u] One of the *golden* nails of the chains of St. Peter had tempted the avarice of a profane, no doubt a heathen or Arian, Lombard; he took out his knife to sever it off; the awe-struck knife sprung up and cut his sacrilegious throat. The Lombard king, Autharis, and his attendants, were

[q] "Ut quod illius collum ligat ad martyrium, vestrum ab omnibus peccatis solvat."—Dialog. vi. 25.

[r] On relics, especially those of St. Peter, compare Epist. i. 29, 30, ii. ii. 32, iii. 30, v. 50, 51, vi. 23, 25, vii. 2, 112, vii. ii. 88, xii. 17. They were formerly defended by law, their removal and sale prohibited. "Nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur."—C. Theod. ix. 17. Compare C. Justin. i. t. 2. Augustine speaks of vagabond monks, who traded in false relics. "Membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum venditant."—De Oper. Monach. c. 28.

[s] All this is verbatim from the curious letter to the Empress Constantia.—iii. 30. Gregory had forgotten that he had been allowed to transport from Constantinople to Rome an arm of St. Andrew and the head of St. Luke, and owed a more liberal return.

[t] Epist. i. 29, 30. King Childebert, vi. vi. "Quæ collo vestro suspensæ a malis vos omnibus tueantur."

[u] Epist. ii. ii. 32.

witnesses of the miracle, and stood in terror, not daring to lift the fearful nail from the ground. A Catholic was fortunately found, by whom the nail permitted itself to be touched, and this peerless gift, so avouched, Gregory sends to a distinguished civil officer.[v]

Sanctity of the clergy.

That sanctity, which thus dwelt in the relics of the saints, was naturally gathered, as far as possible, around their own persons by the clergy, hallowed as they were, and set apart by their ordination from the common race of man; and if the hierarchy had only wielded this power for self-protection; if they had but arrayed themselves in this defensive awe against the insults and cruelties of barbarians, such as the Lombards are described, it would be stern censure, which would condemn even manifest imposture. We might excuse the embellishment, even the invention of the noble story of the Bishop Sanctulus, who offered his life for that of a captive deacon, before whom the Lombard executioner, when he lifted up his sword to behead him, felt his arm stiffen, and could not move it till he had solemnly sworn never to raise that sword against the life of a Christian.[x] But this conservative respect for the sanctity of their order darkens too frequently into pride and inhumanity; the awful inviolability of their persons becomes a jealous resentment against even unintentional irreverence. A demoniac accused the holy Bishop Fortunatus of refusing him the rights of hospitality; a poor peasant receives the possessed into his house, and is punished for this inferential disrepect to the Bishop by seeing his child cast into the fire and burnt before his eyes. A poor fellow with a monkey and cymbals is struck dead for unintentionally interrupting St. Boniface in prayer.[y]

The sacred edifices, the churches, especially, approachable to all, were yet approachable not without profound awe; in them met everything which could deepen that awe; within were the relics of the tutelar saint, the mysteries, and the presence of the Redeemer, of God himself, and beneath the remains of the faithful dead.[z]

[v] Dial. vi. 23; see also 25.
[x] Dial. iii. 37.
[y] Dial. i. 10, i. 9.
[z] Gregory forbade the *worship* of images, though he encouraged them as

Burial in churches had now begun; it was a special privilege. Gregory dwells on the advantage of being thus constantly suggested to the prayers of friends and relatives for the repose of the soul. But that which was a blessing to the holy was but more perilous to the unabsolved and the wicked. The sacred soil refused to receive them; the martyrs appeared and commanded the fœtid corpses to be cast out of their precincts. They are seized by devils, who do not fear to carry off their own even from these holy places.[a] But oblations were still effective after death. The consecrated host has begun to possess in itself wonder-working powers. A child is cast forth from his grave, and is only persuaded to rest in quiet by a piece of the consecrated bread being placed upon his breast. Two noble women, who had been excommunicated for talking scandal, were nevertheless buried in the church; but every time the mass was offered, their spirits were seen to rise from their tombs, and glide out of the church. It was only after an oblation had been "immolated" for them that they slept in peace.[b]

The mystery of the state after death began to cease to be a mystery. The subtile and invisible soul gradually materialised itself to the keen sight of the devout. A hermit declared that he had seen Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king, at the instant of death, with loose garments and sandals, led between Symmachus the patrician and John the Pope, and plunged into the burning crater of Lipari.[c] Benedict, while waking, beheld a bright and dazzling light, in which he distinctly saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop of Capua, ascend to heaven in an orb of fire, borne by angels.[d] State after death.

Hell was by no means the inexorable dwelling which restored not its inhabitants. Men were transported thither for a short time, and returned to reveal its secrets to the shuddering world. Gregory's Hell.

suggestive memorials.—vii. ii. 54; compare vii. 33, iii. "Pro lectione pictura est."—ix. 9.

[a] Dial. iv. 50, &c.

[b] Dial. ii. 22, 23. Compare the two last chapters of Book iv.

[c] "Discinctus et discalceatus"—such was the confusion of the attributes of soul and body.—Dial. iv. 30.

[d] Dial. iv. 30.

fourth book is entirely filled with legends of departing and of departed spirits, several of which revisit the light of day. On the locality of hell Gregory is modest, and declines to make any peremptory decision. On purgatory too he is dubious, though his final conclusion appears to be that there is a purgatorial fire which may purify the soul from very slight sins.[e] Some centuries must elapse before those awful realms have formed themselves into that dreary and regular topography which Dante partly created out of his own sublime imagination, partly combined from all the accumulated legends which had become the universal belief of Christendom.

The most singular of these earlier journeys into the future world are the adventures of a certain Stephen, the first part of which Gregory declares he had heard more than once from his own mouth,[f] and which he relates, apparently intending to be implicitly believed. Stephen had to all appearance died in Constantinople, but, as the embalmer could not be found, he was left unburied the whole night. During that time he went down into hell, where he saw many things which he had not before believed. But when he came before the Judge, the Judge said, I did not send for this man, but for Stephen the smith. Gregory's friend Stephen was too happy to get back, and on his return found his neighbour Stephen the smith dead. But Stephen learned not wisdom from his escape. He died of the plague in Rome, and with him appeared to die a soldier, who returned to reveal more of these fearful secrets of the other world, and the fate of Stephen. The soldier passed a bridge, beneath it flowed a river, from which rose vapours, dark, dismal, and noisome. Beyond the bridge (the imagination could but go back to the old Elysian fields) spread beautiful, flowery, and fragrant meadows, peopled by spirits clothed in white. In these were many mansions, vast and full of light. Above all rose a palace of golden bricks, to whom it belonged he could not read. On the bridge he recognised

[e] "Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est."—Dial. iv. 39.

[f] "De semet ipso mihi narrare *consueverat.*"

Stephen, whose foot slipped as he endeavoured to pass. His lower limbs were immediately seized by frightful forms, who strove to drag him to the fœtid dwellings below. But white and beautiful beings caught his arms, and there was a long struggle between the conflicting powers. The soldier did not see the issue of the conflict.

Such were among the stories avouched by the highest ecclesiastical authority, and commended it might seem by the uninquiring faith of the ruling intellect of his age—such among the first elements of that universal popular religion which was the Christianity of ages. This religion gradually moulded together all which arose out of the natural instincts of man, the undying reminiscences of all the older religions, the Jewish, the Pagan, and the Teutonic, with the few and indistinct glimpses of the invisible world and the future state of being in the New Testament, into a vast system, more sublime perhaps for its indefiniteness, which, being necessary in that condition of mankind, could not but grow up out of the kindled imagination and religious faith of Christendom; and such religion the historian who should presume to condemn as a vast plan of fraud, or a philosopher who should venture to disdain as a fabric of folly, only deserving to be forgotten, would be equally unjust, equally blind to its real uses, assuredly ignorant of its importance and its significance in the history of man. For on this, the popular Christianity, popular as comprehending the highest as well as the lowest in rank, and even in intellectual estimation, turns the whole history of man for many centuries. It is at once the cause and the consequence of the sacerdotal dominion over mankind; the groundwork of authority at which the world trembled; which founded and overthrew kingdoms, bound together or set in antagonistic array nations, classes, ranks, orders of society. Of this, the parent, when the time arrived, of poetry, of art, the Christian historian must watch the growth and mark the gradations by which it gathered into itself the whole activity of the human mind, and quickened that activity till at length the mind outgrew that which had been so long almost its sole occupation. It endured till faith, with the Schoolmen, led into the fathomless depths

of metaphysics, began to aspire after higher truths; with the Reformers, attempting to refine religion to its primary spiritual simplicity, gradually dropped, or left but to the humblest and most ignorant, at least to the more imaginative and less practical part, of mankind, this even yet prolific legendary Christianity, which had been the accessory and supplementary Bible, the authoritative and accepted, though often unwritten, Gospel of centuries.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

Vol. I. p. 30.

Since this passage was printed, I have read the Dissertation of Cardinal Wiseman, republished in his Essays, London, 1854. In the Dissertation the author ventures on the forlorn hope of the vindication of the disputed Text in St. John's Epistle; I can only express my surprise that so acute a writer should see any force in such arguments. But the observations on African Latinity appear to me valuable, scholarlike, and sound.

Vol. I. p. 37.

I have also read the 'Hippolytus und Kallistus' (just published), by J. Döllinger, the church historian; I must say with no conviction but of the author's learning and ingenuity. It appears to me that M. Döllinger's arguments against M. Bunsen (*e. g.* from the ignorance of St. Jerome) are quite as fatal to his own theory. I still think it most probable that Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus, and that these suburbicarian bishops formed or were part of a kind of presbytery or college with the bishops of Rome. I hardly understand how those (seven) bishops (the cardinal-bishops) can have gained their peculiar relation to Rome, in later times, without any earlier tradition in their favour. The loose language of later Greek writers might easily make of a bishop, a member of such a presbytery, a bishop in Rome, or even of Rome. More than one, at least, of these writers calls Hippolytus Bishop of Portus: and hence, too, he may have been sometimes described as Presbyter.

Portus, there can be no doubt, was a very considerable town; but a new and flourishing haven cannot have grown up at the mouth of the Tiber, after half, at least, of the commerce and concourse of strangers had deserted Rome, after the foundation of Constantinople, and during the Barbarian invasions. Birkenhead would not have risen to rival Liverpool excepting in a most prosperous state of English trade.

I cannot but regret that M. Döllinger's book, so able, and in some respects so instructive, should be written with such a resolute (no doubt a conscientious) determination to make out a case. It might well be entitled Apologia pro Callisto; and I must presume to say, in my judgment, a most unfortunate case for his own cause. Were I polemically disposed as to the succession to St. Peter, the authority and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, or even the unity of the Church, I could hardly hope for so liberal a concession as that twice within thirty years, during the early part of the third century, rival bishops, one a most distinguished theologian, should set themselves up in Rome itself against the acknowledged Pope, and declare their own communities to be the true Church.

VOL. I. p. 332.

I have met with a curious illustration in a very recent traveller of the Post-Apostolic Miracle which perplexed Gibbon. The writer is describing Djezzar Pasha's cruelties:—"Each Emir was held down in a squatting position, with his hands tied behind him, and his face turned upwards. The officiating tefeketchy now approached his victim; and standing over him, as if about to extract a tooth, forced open his mouth, and, darting a hook through the top of the tongue, pulled it out until the root was exposed: one or two passes of a razor sufficed to cut it out. It is a curious fact, however, *that the tongues grew again sufficient for the purposes of speech.*"—Colonel CHURCHILL'S *Lebanon*, vol. iii. p. 384.

END OF VOLUME I.

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